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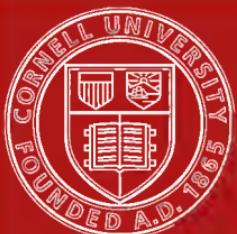
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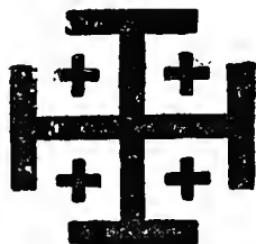
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## *THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE AT JERUSALEM.*



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THIS Society is established for the translation and publication, with explanatory notes, of the various descriptions and accounts of Palestine and the Holy Places, and of the topographical references in ancient and mediæval literature, from the earliest times to the period of the Crusades or later. These accounts are written in Greek, Latin, Arabic, old French, and old German (in those curious records of pilgrimages which begin with the unknown Pilgrim of Bordeaux and follow in almost unbroken line to the present day). Topographical references are found in brief allusions in detached sentences, scattered about among the writings of the Early Fathers, in the Byzantine and earliest Arab historians. Very few of these Pilgrims have as yet appeared in an English form, and no serious attempt has ever been made to search the Byzantine and Arab historians and the Early Fathers for their topographical allusions and illustrations. Many of them, however, give details of the highest importance in matters connected with the topography of Jerusalem, the positions of the holy sites, etc. It is proposed to begin with the Pilgrims, to take them one by one, to translate, annotate, and issue them, each separately, and as fast as the funds at the disposal of the Council will allow. All the publications are annotated.

The Annual Subscription is One Guinea, payable to the Hon. Secretary, in return for which the subscribers will receive all the publications in each year.

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VOL. I.

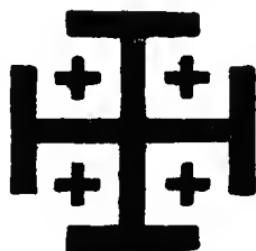
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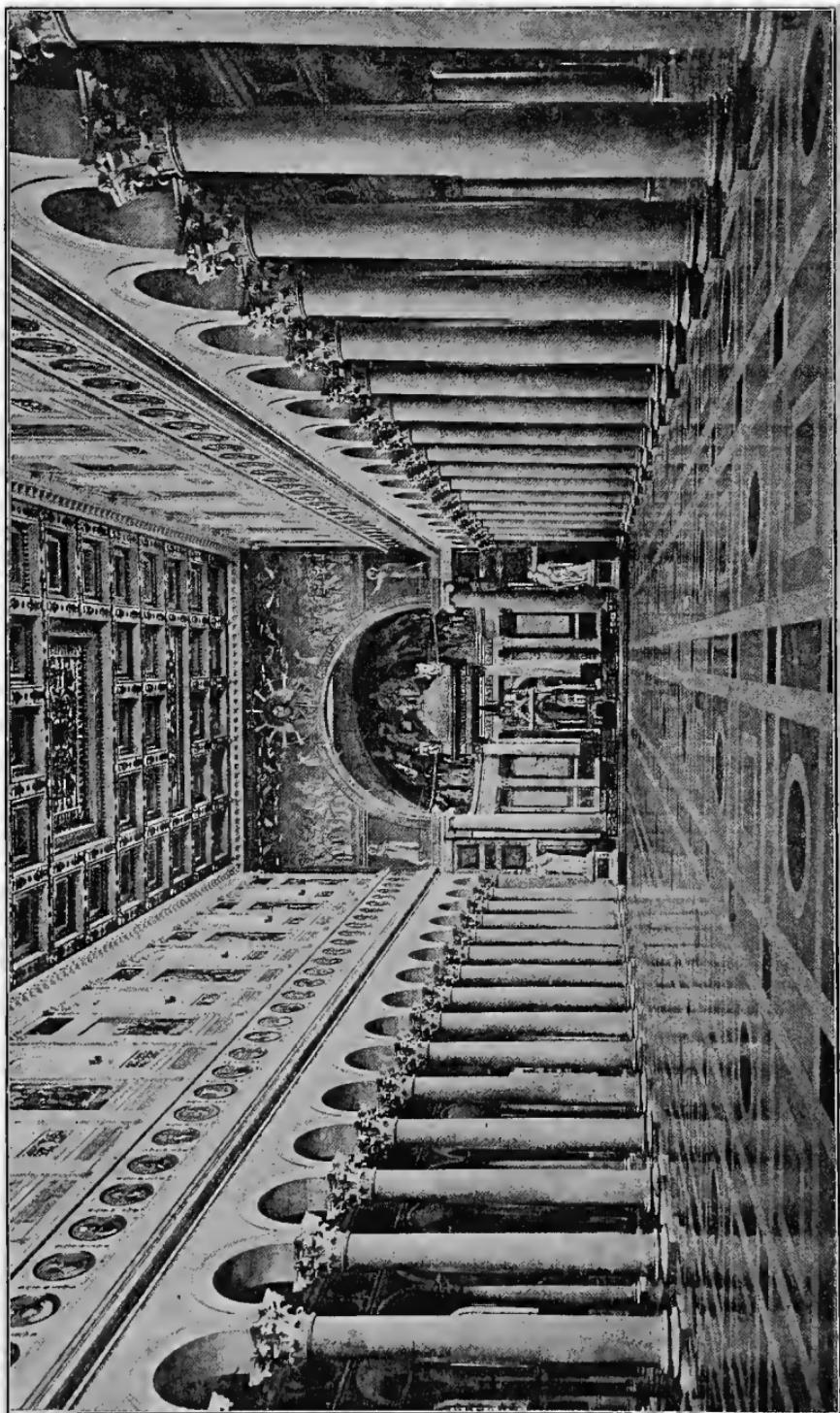
THE PILGRIMAGE OF HOLY PAULA. BY ST. JEROME.



LONDON :  
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THE BASILICA OF ST. PAUL'S, ROME.

(From a Photograph.)

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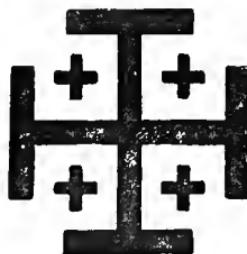
BEING  
*TRANSLATIONS FROM EUSEBIUS AND THE  
EARLY PILGRIMS,*

BY  
JOHN H. BERNARD, B.D.,  
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, AND ARCHBISHOP KING'S LECTURER  
IN DIVINITY.

WITH A PREFACE BY COLONEL SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.,

AND  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES  
AND DRAWINGS

BY  
T. HAYTER LEWIS, F.S.A.,  
EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ARCHITECTURE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, AND PAST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS.



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## P R E F A C E.

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IN the years 326-335 A.D. the Emperor Constantine the Great erected certain buildings at Jerusalem over and near a rock-hewn tomb which he believed to be the sepulchre of Christ. These buildings remained intact until 614, when they are said to have been destroyed or greatly injured by the Persians. They are described by Eusebius, who was at Jerusalem whilst they were being built, and who was present at their dedication. They were also seen, whilst in a perfect state, by several pilgrims, who have left records, more or less full, of what they saw. But, as Professor Hayter Lewis well observes, the pilgrims cared little about the form and size of the buildings which enshrined the objects of their devotion, and their descriptions are often so cursory and confused as to make their precise meaning very doubtful.

After the Persian invasion, and before the capture of the city by the Arabs in 637, the churches were repaired or rebuilt by Modestus; and in this state they were seen by Arculfus, *circ.* 670-80, who, besides giving a detailed description of the buildings, is the first pilgrim to furnish a plan. Whether the arrangement of the churches as restored by Modestus was the same as that of the original

buildings of Constantine is uncertain, but it is not improbable that they were rebuilt on the same plan.

It is abundantly clear, from a careful study of these ancient records, and from our present knowledge of the existing remains, that the theory advanced by the late Mr. Fergusson, that the churches of Constantine were situated within the Haram Area, and that the 'Dome of the Rock' is the Church of the Resurrection, is wrong. There is, however, another problem of equal interest, and of perhaps greater difficulty, and that is the restoration of the plan upon which the churches were originally built. Several distinguished architects and authors have attempted to solve the problem, and have advanced very different views on the subject. Since they wrote, additional information has been obtained with respect to the form of the ground and the character of the existing remains, and more attention has been directed to the early records that have come down to us. It was thought, therefore, that the time had arrived for a re-examination of the whole question, and for the publication of new translations of the description written by Eusebius of the buildings of Constantine, and of all that bears upon their size, position, and general arrangement in the records of the pilgrimages made before the Persian invasion. To these have been added extracts from Arculfus relating to the churches as rebuilt or restored by Modestus.

The Committee of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society are much indebted to Professor Hayter Lewis for his kindness in consenting to re-examine the questions connected with the arrangement of Constantine's churches, and to the Rev. J. H. Bernard for the translations which he has kindly made from Eusebius, and the records of the early

---

pilgrimages. Professor Hayter Lewis has long studied the subject, and has personally examined all existing churches which are known or believed to have been erected by Constantine; he therefore writes with an authority to which few living writers can pretend. A thorough examination of the ground on which the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its annexes stand can alone show whether he has successfully solved the problem, but, even if he has not done so, his very interesting monograph throws new light on an obscure and difficult question.

C. W. W.

*November, 1890.*

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

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	PAGE
ST. PETER'S (OLD), ROME, INTERIOR . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
ST. AGNES', ROME, SECTION . . . . .	<i>To face</i> xi
ST. PETER'S (OLD), ROME, SECTION . . . . .	,, xi
JERUSALEM, MODESTUS' BUILDINGS BY ARCULF . . . . .	,, xi
JERUSALEM, PLAN OF CONSTANTINE'S BUILDINGS ACCORDING TO WILLIS . . . . .	,, xiii
JERUSALEM, PLAN OF CONSTANTINE'S BUILDINGS ACCORDING TO DE VOGÜÉ . . . . .	,, xiii
ST. AGNES', ROME, INTERIOR . . . . .	,, xvi
JERUSALEM, PLAN OF CONSTANTINE'S BUILDINGS ACCORDING TO T. H. LEWIS . . . . .	,, xxiv
CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN ITS PRESENT STATE . . . . .	,, 34

## INTRODUCTION.

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A TRANSLATION of the writings of Eusebius, so far as relates to the various works executed by command of the Emperor Constantine, having been kindly made by Professor Bernard for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, I have been requested by the committee of the society to analyze the accounts of these works with the view of determining, if possible, by their aid and by the evidence furnished by recent discoveries, and by the statements of Pilgrims and others (not known to Professor Willis when he wrote his well-known treatise on the Holy Sepulchre), the extent, position, and general arrangements of the sacred buildings erected by the emperor at Jerusalem. Repeated visits to the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre have made the subject one of great interest to me for many years, and it is no slight gratification to me to find that the results agree, to a very large extent, with those arrived at by Professor Willis, as described in the above-named treatise.

The incidents in the life of Eusebius are so well known that a very cursory sketch of them will be sufficient in this place. It is generally supposed that he was born in Cæsarea in Palestine in or about A.D. 260, and that he died in A.D. 340. He became a presbyter in his native town, and resided there during the earlier part of the persecution (begun A.D. 303) by Diocletian; withdrew for a time to Tyre and Egypt; was then made Bishop of Cæsarea, and

returned to that city *circa* A.D. 313, the persecution having subsided after the death of Galerius in 311. Thenceforward he took a very distinguished position in the Church.

At the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, he addressed the Emperor Constantine on behalf of the whole synod. In 330 he was offered and declined the patriarchate of Antioch. In 335 he attended, at the emperor's request, at the Council of Tyre, proceeding thence in the same year to take part in the ceremonies at the completion and consecration of Constantine's great church in the holy city of Jerusalem. Eusebius is distinguished from his namesake, the contemporary Bishop of Nicomedia, by the added name of Pamphilus, which was given to him, not from any relationship, but from his close intimacy with, and devoted attachment to, the Christian martyr of that name.

The writings of Eusebius are very numerous, and of great value as giving accounts of the early history of the Christian Church; but it is necessary to mention here only (1st) his 'Ecclesiastical History,' which ends *circa* 324, and comprises the account of Paulinus's church at Tyre; and (2nd) the life of the Emperor Constantine, which work was finished after the death of the emperor which took place in 337.

This was the last of Eusebius's works, and contains a detailed account of the great basilica at Jerusalem, commenced by command of the emperor in 326, and dedicated, as before mentioned, at its completion in 335, viz., about five years before the death of Eusebius, who thus had an opportunity of seeing, in their glory, these two great churches.

The description of the basilica given by our author would appear, at first sight, to be sufficiently clear; but it is unaccompanied by even so slight a sketch as the well-known one made by Adamnanus from Arculf's account of the rebuilding by Modestus; and there are, therefore, the same difficulties in interpreting Eusebius's description as

there are in understanding the still more detailed accounts given by the Bible and Josephus of Solomon's Temple.

There are, also, differences in the various translations made from the original Byzantine Greek, showing that the several translators put different interpretations upon some important parts of the account; and I have, therefore, thought it well to give the reader an opportunity of comparing them. I have given quotations from the following authors as an introduction to Professor Bernard's very able translations:

Eusebii Hist. Eccl. et Vita Constantini (Græce et Latine), H. Valesius et Gul. Reading ; Cant., 1720.

S. Cyril. Hieros., opera omnia, Ant. Aug. Touttée ; fol. Paris, 1720.

'Ricerche sull' Architettura dei Tempj Cristiani,' par il Cav. Luigi Canina ; Roma, 1843.

The Rev. Professor Robert Willis in 'The Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,' Cambridge, 1849.

The Marquis C. J. Melchior de Vogüié, 'Les Églises de la Terre Sainte,' Paris, 1860.

Messrs. W. Besant and E. H. Palmer, 'Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Palestine,' 1871 (and new edition in 1889).

The original Greek text is given in the Cambridge edition above quoted, also by Canina, and, to a considerable extent, by Professor Willis.

The Life of St. Cyril has, also, a carefully worked-out plan of Constantine's church, giving the exact position, according to the translator's view, of all the sites described by Eusebius; but unfortunately the author has assumed that the tomb was to the extreme east of the site instead of to the west, and this has led him, necessarily, into such forced and contradictory suggestions that his carefully worked-out plan is not of sufficient value to be quoted.

As the detailed accounts which Eusebius gives in his 'Eccl. History and Life of Constantine' of the other churches

erected by command of Constantine at Tyre, Antioch, and Constantinople serve to throw light upon some doubtful points in the description of the one at Jerusalem, Professor Bernard has kindly translated these accounts also.

At Bethlehem we have one of the very few churches whereof parts, at least, may be considered to exist as they were constructed in the time of Constantine, and it may furnish us with somewhat of a type of his basilica at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the churches of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Tyre, Antioch, and Constantinople, we have a long list given by Eusebius of others built by Constantine's orders in his new metropolis, and also in Rome ; but the descriptions of most of them are very meagre and unsatisfactory, and not a fragment of those at Constantinople appears now to exist.

The reasons for their disappearance are given, in most cases, by Procopius in his book 'De Edificiis,'<sup>2</sup> from which we learn that nearly all of them were rebuilt by Justinian. Some, *e.g.*, St. Sophia, St. Irene, and the Deiparæ, were burnt, and others, as the SS. Apostles, were injured by earthquakes ; but the majority appear to have become ruinous without any special cause being assigned, and we may therefore conclude, with some reason, that the construction had been too much hurried to allow of their being very solidly constructed. Whatever the cause, none of these edifices has remained to our day.

At Rome the following churches, amongst others, are said to have been constructed during Constantine's time : St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Agnes', St. Constance's, and the SS. Coronati.

<sup>1</sup> I have given in my notes to Procopius, p. 149, extracts from Eutychius as to the alleged rebuilding of the church at Bethlehem. Since then I have paid another visit to that church, and am satisfied, on careful examination, that the north and south apses, at least, are of different date from the nave.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society : translation by Mr. Aubrey Stewart.

St. Paul's and the last-named were rebuilt in very early times, and the records of their original plans are very slight. St Peter's is stated to have been in a dangerous state in 1505, when it was pulled down to make room for the new basilica ; but we have fairly accurate plans and accounts of it and the Lateran as given by Ciampini, Canina, and others, whilst there is little doubt that the churches of St. Agnes and St. Constance remain to us to a large extent in the same general form which they received in the time of Constantine—St. Agnes' (one of the most interesting that I know) being, in fact, cited by Canina as realizing the description given by Eusebius of the church at Tyre. I have, therefore, given a section of it as it at present exists (p. xi.).

Further evidence we possess in the accounts of the early pilgrims to Palestine, which have been translated (chiefly by Mr. Aubrey Stewart) for the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, and by Colonel Warren and Major Conder for the Jerusalem volume of the 'Survey of Western Palestine' ; and they have been also retranslated, specially for the present treatise, by Professor Bernard.

The Pilgrims, with the approximate dates of their visits to Jerusalem, are these : The Bordeaux Pilgrim in 332 ; Sta. Paula in 382 ; St. Eucherius in 440 ; Antoninus Martyr in 530 ; and the Breviary and Theodosius of the same date. Of these, the earliest—viz., the Bordeaux Pilgrim, must have described the basilica, etc., during their progress, inasmuch as his visit was three years before they were finished. This will serve to explain how it was that the Pilgrim notices the gigantic reservoirs (*exceptoria*), the southern one of which has only lately been discovered. It is 102 feet long, 34 feet 4 inches wide, and on an average 42 feet deep,<sup>1</sup> and is still in a perfect state of preservation. But it was arched over in the most substantial way, and so completely hidden that it was not likely to

<sup>1</sup> 'Palestine Exploration Quarterly Statement,' January, 1889, pp. 111, 210.

be noticed by the Pilgrim unless he saw it before it was covered.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Charles Wilson has called my attention to a most interesting detailed account, by St. Silvia, c. 383-385, of the various ceremonies and ritual used at that time at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred buildings connected with it; and although this pilgrim does not attempt to give a description of these buildings *per se*, she necessarily describes them, incidentally, in giving an account of the various parts which were visited in succession during the processions and other ceremonials, and she thus alludes to several parts of the buildings which are scarcely, if at all, alluded to by other writers. As this pilgrim's account is a lengthy one I have only given such extracts from it as bear upon our immediate subject.<sup>2</sup>

The other pilgrims must have seen and described the basilica very much as Constantine left it; but, as I have remarked in my treatise on 'The Holy Places in Jerusalem,'<sup>3</sup> 'the aims of those travellers were quite different from the modern: the mediæval pilgrims undertook their long (and often dangerous) journeys for the express object of visiting the places where our Lord had lived and suffered—His birthplace and His tomb. They saw and worshipped in simple belief, and the form or size of the buildings which enshrined those places mattered but little to such travellers.'

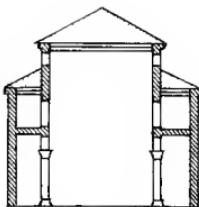
Such as they are, however, I have interpreted them as nearly as I could, but the descriptions are often so cursory and confused as to make their precise meaning very doubtful in the absence of even the smallest sketch.

<sup>1</sup> It has been so completely concealed since that De Vogüé, in 'Les Églises de la Terre Sainte,' Pl. viii., shows a plan of the Church of St. Mary the Less as occupying the site of this piscina.

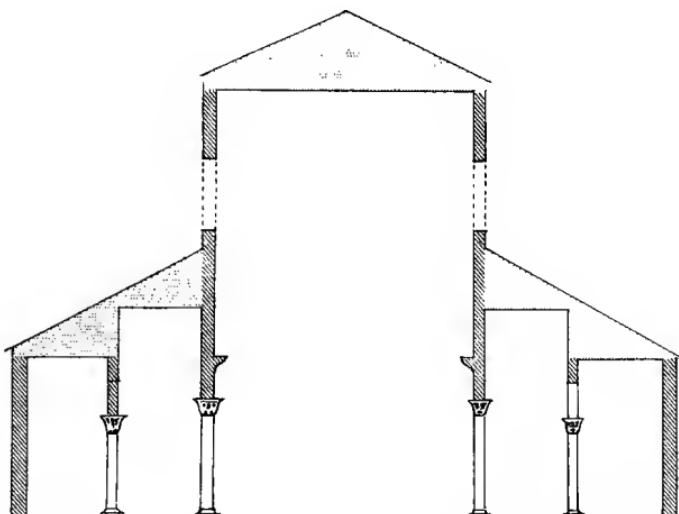
<sup>2</sup> This account was found in a monastery at Arezzo, and was published by its discoverer, Sig. G. F. Gamurrini, in the *Biblioteca dell' Accademia storico-giuridica*, vol. iv., Roma, 1887. A translation by Rev. J. H. Bernard, B.D., F.T.C.D., will be published in the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Series.

<sup>3</sup> 8vo., London, 1888, p. 6.

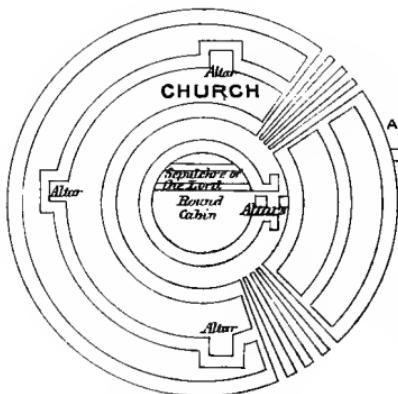




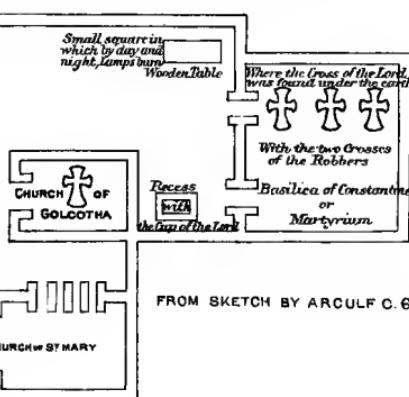
ST AGNES, ROME.  
FOUNDED EARLY IN THE 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.



OLD ST PETERS, ROME.  
FOUNDED VERY EARLY IN THE 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.



PLAN OF THE CHURCH  
OF THE  
HOLY SEPULCHRE  
AND THE  
ADJOINING BUILDINGS, AS REBUILT BY MODESTUS C. 630.



FROM SKETCH BY ARCUF C. 680.

The later pilgrim, Arculf, has indeed given one such sketch ; but he did not visit Jerusalem until *circa* A.D. 680, some sixty-six years after Constantine's great edifice had been destroyed by Chosroes ; and thus Arculf's description and rough plan apply specially only to its successor as it was rebuilt by Modestus *circa* A.D. 630.

I give a copy of this plan, which, as Sir C. Wilson suggests, may have preserved the sites of the tomb, Golgotha, and the place where the crosses were found, though the forms of the buildings may have been altered (p. xi).

But it must be borne in mind that this plan was not made on the spot, but was dictated by Arculfus soon after his return to Adamnanus and then recorded by Bede, so that the rough sketch, valuable as it is, cannot be depended upon in respect of the precise relative positions of the several sites.

To make the actual position of the holy sites still more clear, I have added a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in its present state, reduced by permission of Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson from the Ordnance Survey made by him, and corrected up to the present date (p. 34).

It remains now for me to put together the evidence afforded to us as to Constantine's works by these pilgrims, and by the description by Eusebius, drawn by him from his own personal knowledge ; and if I venture to differ in some respects from the conclusions of other writers, most of whom have special claims for attentive consideration, I do so with much diffidence, and for reasons which I have endeavoured to give clearly. For the sake of easy comparison, I have given all the drawings to the same scale, viz., 800 feet to a foot, being one-fourth of that of the Ordnance Survey Map of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

It would appear from the manner in which Eusebius describes the various parts of the edifice, that he does so mainly in the order in which they were constructed.

The erection, it is said, occupied nine years (326-335),

the least important part—viz, the atrium—having been left to the last.

Passing from the account of the decoration of the tomb (as to which no difference of moment occurs), the following renderings are given by the various translators :

BERNARD.

Next one crossed over to a very large space of ground, to wit, the atrium, open to the pure air of heaven . . . bounded by long porticos, which ran round continuously on three sides (p. 7).

VALESIUS.

*Trangressus inde est ad vastissimum locum libero patentem cœlo . . . longissimis undique porticibus ad tria latera additis* (p. 598).

CYRIL.

*Separata erat Anastasis a Basilica atrio subdivali vastissimo . . . constravit, longissimis undique porticibus ad tria latera* (p. 420).

CANINA.

*Avanti la stessa chiesa stava praticata una vastissima area scoperta . . . per tre lati della quale corrispondevano i portici* (p. 40).

WILLIS.

He then proceeded to set in order an extensive space open to the sky . . . and enclosed on three sides with long cloisters (p. 116).

DE VOGÜÉ.

*En partant de là il fit dégager à l'air libre un grand espace . . . qu'il entoura de trois côtés de large portiques de colonnes* (p. 128).

BESANT AND PALMER.

The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent open to the pure air of heaven . . . and enclosed on three sides with porticos of great length (p. 58).

It will be seen from the above that a large space of ground was set out open to the sky, and surrounded on three sides by long porticos, this space being described variously by translators as ‘very large,’ ‘vastissimus,’ ‘extensive—grand—of great extent.’<sup>1</sup>

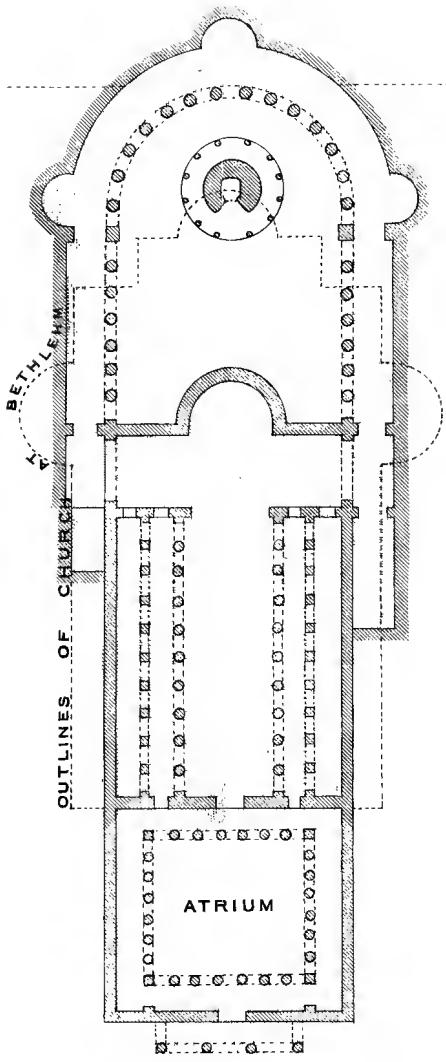
The space which Willis assigns to it, as shown on the plan, seems quite inadequate to realize the above descrip-

<sup>1</sup> The original word is *παμεγέθη*, which is rendered by Liddell and Scott as ‘of enormous size.’

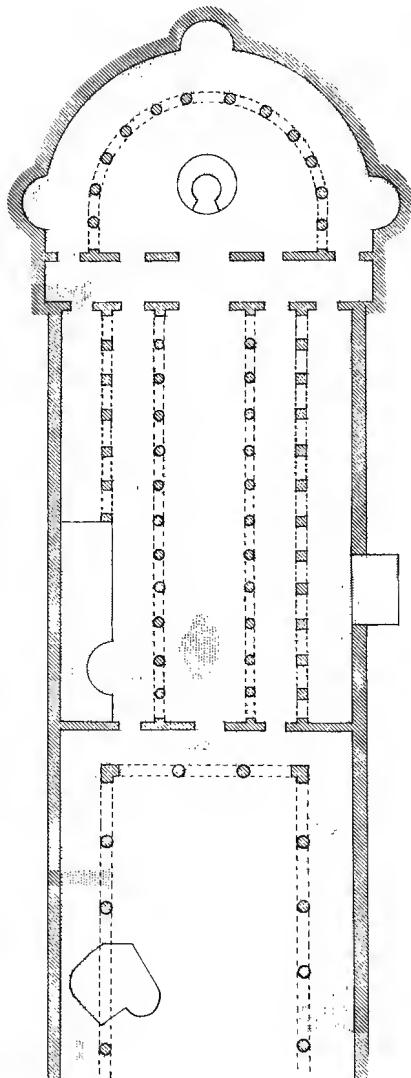


AT ROME

OUTLINES OF OLD ST PETER'S



WILLIS.



DE VOGÜÉ.

tion.<sup>1</sup> In the plan suggested by De Vogüé the space is even smaller than Willis's, and he assumes<sup>2</sup> that the court of the Holy Sepulchre, as described by Eusebius, is to be considered as applying to the hemi-cycle, which he believes was quite open. But this does not fulfil the condition, clearly stated, that the Rock of the Crucifixion was between the basilica and anastasis, as noted by Eucherius. Nor do the colonnades on either of these plans appear to fulfil the conditions of being enclosed on three sides with porticos or colonnades.

It appears to me that the account given by Eusebius of the church at Tyre applies precisely to that at Jerusalem, viz., that 'Constantine enclosed a much larger space of ground, and secured the outside circuit by a wall running all round, so that it might be a most safe protection.' We find the same design carried out at Antioch, as shown in Professor Bernard's translation (p. 14), where it is stated that 'he surrounded the whole building with an enclosure of great extent, and he raised the house of prayer which was inside to a great height.'

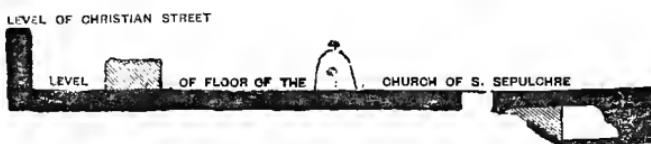
Similarly, in the description—also by Professor Bernard (p. 17)—of the great church at Constantinople, he says: 'having reared the whole building to a vast height. . . . Around it there was a very large court open to the pure air of heaven. Porticos ran round the four sides of this, enclosing the atrium, with the church itself in the middle. Thus, in each of these three churches built by Constantine in various cities, we find a similar plan carried out, viz., that of a large open space, in the middle of which the church itself was placed.'

The configuration of the ground on the site of the Holy Sepulchre church seems to favour this.

<sup>1</sup> I have marked on this plan also the size of Constantine's basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, without any of the surrounding enclosures, external chapels, or other adjuncts. Willis's great church, enclosures, and all would stand inside the mere church of St. Peter's.

<sup>2</sup> 'Les Églises de la Terre Sainte,' p. 137.

The original surface sloped down from west to east, a level platform being formed by cutting the west end to a depth of about 30 feet below the level of Christian Street, leaving the tomb and the (so-called) Calvary, or Place of the Crucifixion, standing out prominently above the general level.<sup>1</sup>



This cutting must have been a very extensive work, and extended over the whole surface, north and south, on which the present buildings of the church rest ; and I apprehend that Constantine levelled the ground, and did exactly as the words of Eusebius seem to imply, viz., 'set in order an extensive court,' and enclosed it and the site of the whole buildings with a wall, as he did at Tyre and Antioch, and with porticos or cloisters, as at Constantinople, and with chambers, exedræ, etc., as at all those great churches (Professor Bernard, pp. 14, 17, 21).

In further describing the work, Eusebius appears to suppose himself to be at the tomb, and, crossing thence, passed through this court, 'which was open to the pure air of heaven,' to the basilica. This, there is no doubt, was eastward of the tomb, and was 'an extraordinary work, reared to an immense height' (Professor Bernard, p. 7). The other translators do not vary as to this.

Then follows the description of the basilica, which is

<sup>1</sup> This preservation of the original height of the rock at *Calvary*, thus leaving it as an isolated little mount (*monticulus*) very probably gave rise to the term '*Mount Calvary*'—a designation unknown to the Bible historians, and not used, so far as I know, until after Constantine's building.

It is not certain that the whole excavation was made by Constantine, inasmuch as there are indications, which have been pointed out to me by Sir C. W. Wilson, that the tombs (clearly ancient), which exist at the west end of the hemicycle, were cut in the face of a cliff.

somewhat obscure. I give, as before, the various translations :

## BERNARD.

At each side of the two porticos, with upper and lower ranges, twin colonnades extended the whole length of the Temple. Of these, the colonnades towards the front of the building were supported by columns of very vast size, but the inner rested on piers. Or [*an alternate translation,*] round both sides twin colonnades of two porticos, with upper and lower ranges—*i.e.*, five aisles and two rows of pillars (p. 8).

## VALESIUS.

Ad utrumque latus, geminæ porticus tam subterraneæ quām supra terram eminentes totius basilicæ longitudinem æquabant. Ex his, quæ in fronte basilicæ (*id est, exteriores*<sup>1</sup>) erant ingentibus columnis fulciebantur, quæ vero interiores pessis sustinebantur (*sive, pilis lapideis*<sup>1</sup>) (p. 599).

## CANINA.

Nei lati della stessa parta interna corrispondevano i portici doppi, si nel piano inferiore, si nel superiore. Quello che corrispondeva verso la fronte della basilica era sostenuto da colonne, e quello della parte esterna da pilastri (p. 40).

## WILLIS.

On either side double piers of double porticos above and below ground extended the full length of the Temple. Those in front were sustained by enormous columns, those within by square pilasters (p. 116).

## DE VOGÜÉ.

De chaque côté, dans toute la longueur du Temple, s'étendaient deux rangs de soutiens doubles, les uns s'appuyant sur le sol, les autres s'élevants au-dessus. Le rang de devant était formé de colonnes énormes, celui de derrière de piliers carrés (p. 129).

## BESANT AND PALMER.

Besides this were two porticos on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself. . . . Of these porticos, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, those within rested on piles of stone (p. 59).

The descriptions of the porticos would almost seem to indicate that they were *outside* the building; but no such design is known to have been adopted in any Christian

<sup>1</sup> These words in italics are from Valesius's notes.

basilica, and the translators generally agree as to the chief features in the actual work, which are shortly stated thus by Professor Willis's summary of it, viz., 'double aisles on each side,' just as is seen at Bethlehem, and on the drawings of the St. Paul's basilica at Rome (*vide* frontispiece).

But the description of the porticos being 'above and below ground,' or 'in upper and lower ranges,' certainly seems to go beyond this, and to show that the aisles were double also in height. If so, we must conclude that they were constructed with galleries, as in the Church of St. Agnes at Rome (p. xi.), which is, indeed, cited by Canina as being of similar design to that of Constantine's basilica.

But St. Agnes' has only one aisle on each side, and I know of no instance of galleries being found where double aisles existed, except in the restoration by Mr. Fergusson (History, i. 239) of Trajan's basilica.

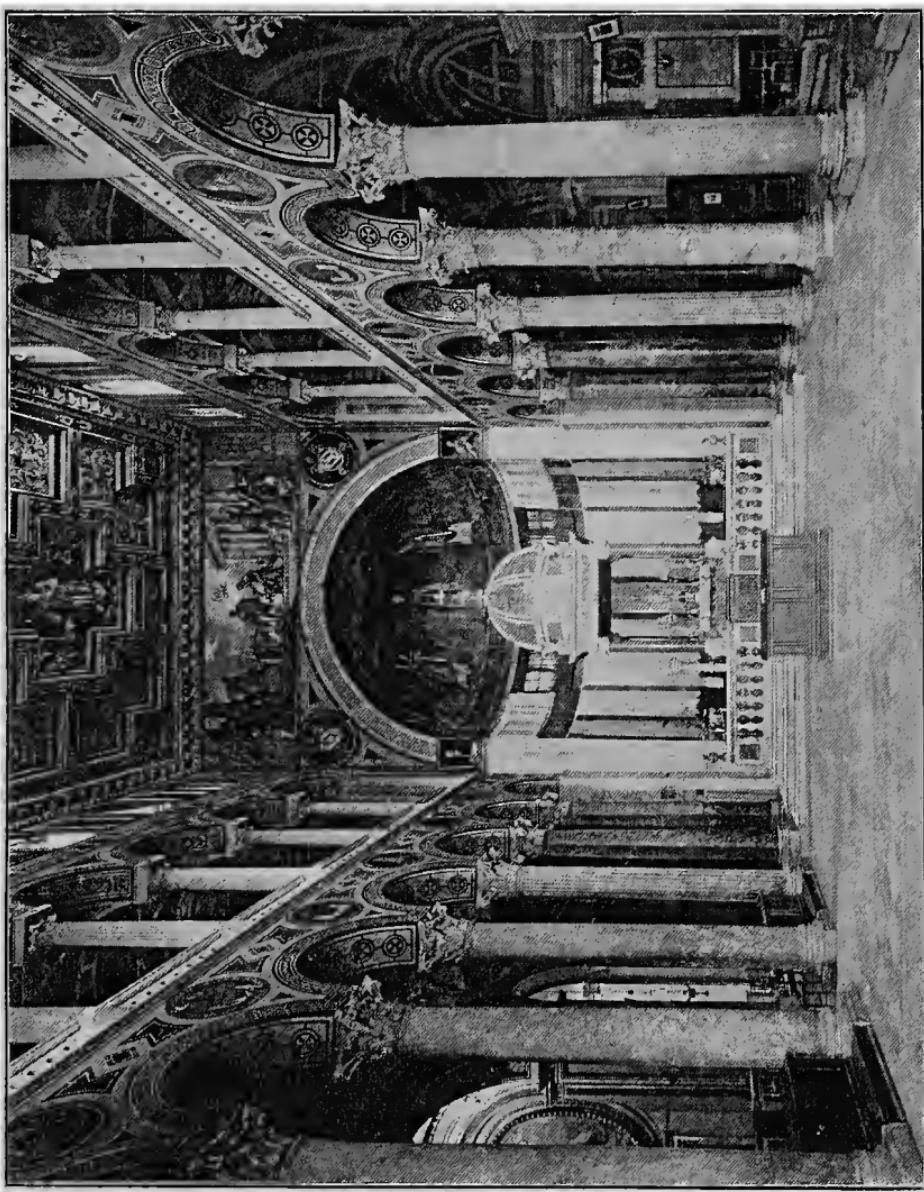
The usual section would, in the case of double aisles, be as in the old St. Peter's, light being admitted mainly through the clerestory windows (p. xi.).

At St. Agnes' there are two rows of columns, one above another, those of neither row being thereby very large; and the same arrangement is shown in Mr. Fergusson's restoration, above quoted, of Trajan's basilica. But the columns in the outer rows in the Jerusalem basilica are described as being 'enormous,' 'ingentibus,' 'of very vast size,' which seems to imply that they were in one height, whilst the inner rows were of square pilasters or piers, richly ornamented.<sup>1</sup> It is, I am afraid, left open

<sup>1</sup> This is a question of much architectural interest. The description of 'enormous columns' would seem to imply that they were of so large a diameter as to be one row only in height, but in that case the beams of the gallery must have cut most awkwardly into the columns, unless there were other and unusual supports. The same difficulty occurs in Vitruvius's account of his famous basilica (pagan) at Fano (Bk. V., c. i.). He there describes the columns as being 5 feet in diameter and 50 feet high (including their capitals), with pilasters behind them ('habentes post se parastatas') 20 feet high,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, supporting the floor over. Above

ST. AGNES (WITHOUT THE WALLS), ROME.

*(From a Photograph.)*





to us to assume either that there were two aisles on each side of the nave, or that there was one aisle only on each side, with a gallery somewhat as at St. Agnes' at Rome, and as was apparently designed for St. Lawrence's, also at Rome. The idea that there were galleries, and also two aisles, on each side appears to me to be inadmissible in a Christian basilica, whilst such a structure with only a single aisle in each side would be inferior in effect to that at Bethlehem, and quite insignificant as compared with the emperor's work at Rome.

That the basilica was entered by three doors from the east is agreed by all.

The succeeding sentence is that which has led to the greatest differences, and I give the various translations below :

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these, other pilasters, 18 feet high, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, supported the timbers of the portico roofs, which are lower than the main vault. One would imagine from this description that the columns were formed thus, and it is so understood by Wilkins, one of



our most learned translators. So in the old edition of Vitruvius in 1586 the commentator says : 'Aut lapides pilarum modo ad columnarum latera appositi, vulgo dictæ pilastræ prominentibus ipsis columnis partibus duabus ; aut secundum aliis, parte solummodo sui media.' But this adoption of one aisle and a gallery finds us in a difficulty as to the description of the pilasters, or piers, or antæ, which seem to indicate supports independent of the columns. The term describing them used by Eusebius is *παραστάτες*, and the meaning by Vitruvius of this word, as referred to above, is by no means clear. He uses it as a form of square columns in his account of Fano thus (Bk. IV., c. ii.) : 'Trabes enim supra columnas et parastades et antas,' etc., as though the two latter names signified something different from each other ; but he describes a temple in antis (Bk. III., c. i.) as 'quod Græce νωῦ ἐν παραστάσιν,' 'dicitur.' One authority, Gwilt, describes the pilasters as 'antæ' when attached to a wall, and 'parastades' when insulated ; but I do not find that Vitruvius says so.

This question is further examined by Professor Bernard at p. 9.

## BERNARD.

Opposite these was the hemisphere, the main point of the whole building, stretching out towards the roof of the basilica, which twelve columns surrounded, adorned on their summits with great bowls of silver (p. 9).

## VALESIUS.

E regione harum portarum erat hemisphaerium, quod totius operis caput est, usque ad culmen ipsius basilicæ potentum. Cingebatur id 12 columnis, quarum capita maximis crateribus argenteis erant ornata (p. 599).

## CANINA.

D'incontro alle stesse porte stava l'emisferio che corrispondeva à capo di tutta l'opera, e s'innalzava sino al soffito della basilica. Era essa cinto da 12 colonne i capitelli, delle quali erano stati ornati con vasi di argento (p. 40).

## WILLIS.

Opposite to these doors was the apse, the head of the whole work, raised to the very roof of the basilica, and surrounded by twelve columns ornamented with large silver capitals (p. 117).

## DE VOGÜÉ.

En face des portes, à l'extrême de la basilique, était l'hémicycle, le lieu principal : il était entouré de colonnes au nombre de douze : leurs sommets étaient ornés de grands cratères d'argent (p. 129).

## BESANT AND PALMER.

Opposite these gates, the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns, having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size (p. 59).

The difficulties result from the uncertainty as to the meaning of the word *ἡμισφαῖρον*, and the position on plan of this feature. Our great authority as to mediæval words is Professor Willis : but his ' Nomenclature of the Middle Ages ' does not extend so far back as the fourth century, and the word in question is not included. In his translation of Eusebius, however, he renders it without comment as *apse*—by which he, without doubt, meant such a semi-circular form as was the ordinary one at the altar end of an early church. Most of the other translators render it simply as 'hemisphere'—an ambiguous word, but which appears to me to have with them the same signification as

that of Willis's *apse*. It certainly was so used by Canina and De Vogüé.<sup>1</sup>

But in Professor Bernard's opinion this term does *not* mean apse, but a cupola of some kind (? baldachino) covering the altar, and in this opinion he is supported by Valesius, who gives a long note on the word.<sup>2</sup> But we must bear in mind that the semicircular structure which partly encompassed the tomb, and which is designated by Willis and others as an apse, was, *de facto*, the crowning part of the Constantine basilica, both in magnitude and position.

The importance attached to this part of the structure by the Emperor is clear from the following extract from his

<sup>1</sup> Ducange (Gloss., 4<sup>o</sup>, Paris, 1840), i., p. 31. *Absida vel apsida. Fornix, ex Grec. ἀψίς, arcus, fornix (Papias). . . . Absida, id est hemispherium (Gloss.). Absides, id est circuli (Durandus). . . .*

Pars ædis sacræ interior, in qua altare collocari solet, sic appellata, quod sit quodammodo separata a templo et proprio fornici tecta et convoluta. . . . Proprie est cuiusvis ædificii pars extrema et interior super planum semirotundum erecta et concamerata, quam Galli plerique appellant *Rond point*. Neque dumtaxat usurpanda. *Absida*, pro illa parte in qua altare collocari solet; convenit cuilibet structuræ in arcum desinenti et concameratæ, quare et dicitur de ecclesiarum sacellis semirotundis deque aliis partibus ecclesiæ cum in circulum pariter terminantur.

<sup>2</sup> Scribo ἡμισφαῖρον: sic vocat altare basilicæ, eo quod in formam hemisphærii fabricatum esset. Hinc est quod ipsum vocat τοῦ παντὸς κεφάλαιον, id est summam totius operis.

Nam basilicæ ideo construebantur ut super altari incruentum sacrificium offerretur Deo. Paulo supra Eusebius sepulchrum Domini κεφαλὴν τοῦ παντὸς vocavit, nunc verò altare basilicæ, appellat τοῦ παντὸς κεφάλαιον, quæ duo longe inter se differunt. Nam sepulchrum Domini ideo vocatur caput totius operis, quod initium ac velut vestibulum fuerit totius fabricæ et quod ejus gratia Constantinus totum opus extruxerit.

Altare verò basilicæ summa totius operis dicitur propterea quod totum opus eò spectabat, eratque id complimentum universæ structuræ, sine quo imperfecta erat basilica.

Porro hemisphærium improprie dixit Eusebius pro hemicyclo, vel potius hemicylindro, cuiusmodi etiam altare fuisse Sanctæ Sophiæ docet Procopius libro i. De edificiis (p. 599).

instructions to Macarius, given by Professor Bernard at p. 4 :

'A house of prayer, worthy of God, should be erected round about the Cave of Salvation, on a scale of rich and imperial costliness.'

Again, 'how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred spot.' And he further says (Professor Bernard, p. 5) 'that this basilica shall be the finest in the world.'

The formation of the western end of the church was a work which no one would venture to attribute to Modestus, whose restoration of the original semicircular end seems to have been much less ambitious in design ; and if the description given by Eusebius does not apply to this grand termination of the whole work, it is not described by him at all—an omission which we can scarcely regard as probable. No doubt the termination was not, strictly speaking, an apse such as was usual at the ending of a basilica—*i.e.*, a comparatively small semi-domed recess for the bishop, or other dignitary, and his priests, and which was without columns ; and the term 'hemicycle' suggested by Valesius appears to be much more applicable. But this is a mere alternative name, and I cannot but think that Eusebius intended to describe the circular finish, the head of the whole work, with its twelve columns, in somewhat the same way as is shown on the plans drawn by Willis and De Vogué.

As to the columns, we might perhaps be tempted to consider them as decorating the front of the altar in the hemicycle, as at St. Peter's ; but the words of Eusebius are clear, viz., that they *surrounded* it.

As to their finish, by capitals or otherwise, the translators differ much. The word used is *κρατήρ*, and is rendered by Bernard and Willis as meaning silver capitals, and by Canina, Besant and Palmer, and Valesius, as being capitals embellished with silver vases or bowls, and by De Vogué as having great vases on their summits.

There can scarcely be a doubt that the capitals, of whatever materials they were composed, were Corinthian, as was the case, with scarcely an exception, in every great Roman building in the times of the Emperors, and I cannot see how such a capital could be correctly described by anyone as a vase or bowl.

In the Breviary (p. 24 of this work) these ornaments are described as something altogether incredible, viz., twelve urns of silver, on the tops of the columns; and I think that the fair construction of Eusebius's description is that the columns and capitals were of the usual form, not forming part of the actual construction, but introduced merely for ornamental purposes, and that on the top of the entablature, over each of them, was a silver vase.

This is not a very uncommon kind of finish, and a good ancient example of it may be seen in the vase which completes the well-known Roman tomb at Petra.

As to the concluding sentences of Eusebius's account there is little difficulty. They describe the usual atrium and the cloisters round it, but the heading to this part of the account mentions exedræ, although they are not otherwise alluded to. Very probably they were additions, scarcely worth his notice, such as are described to Constantine's churches at Antioch and Constantinople, and elsewhere.

But there is a passage in the Breviary which deserves notice, viz., 'At the entrance to the basilica, and on the left hand is a chamber where the Cross of our Lord is kept.'

'Beyond this, as one enters the church of the Holy Constantine, there is a large apse,<sup>1</sup> (or, as Professor Bernard renders it, a great vaulted arch) 'on the west side, wherein the three crosses were found.'

<sup>1</sup> Professor Bernard considers that the term 'apsida' does not mean apse in the modern sense. As to this, we may refer to one of our best antiquarian authorities, viz., Joannes Ciampini ('De Sacris Aëdificiis Constantini,' Roma, 1693). He says (p. 32): 'Absis itaque quam majorem tribunam vocari . . . ut caput ipsius basilicæ erat

'There is there a raised altar made of pure silver and gold, and nine columns support that altar.'

Whatever the true meaning of the term 'apse' may be, it is clear that the vault now known as the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross was entered from the eastern end of the basilica soon after passing through the doorways.

But it is singular that this sacred cave is so slightly noticed. This is, however, almost certainly owing to the MS. of the Pilgrim Sta. Sylvia having been broken off at a place in which she begins to describe the ceremonies of the Invention of the Cross. For she says (*vide* p. 108) : 'Quoniam crux Domini inventa est ipsa die, et ideo propter hoc ita ordinatum est, ut quando primum sanctæ ecclesiæ supra scriptæ consecrabantur, ea dies esset, qua crux Domini fuerat inventa,' etc.

Then she continues (*vide* p. 109), after a description of what is done elsewhere : 'Nam prima et secunda die in ecclesia majore, quæ appellatur Martyrium, proceditur. Item tertia die in Eleona, id est, in ecclesia quæ est in Eleona, id est in ecclesia, quæ est in ipso monte, à quo ascendit Dominus in cœlis post passionem, intra qua ecclesia est spelunca illa in qua docebat Dominus apostolos in Monte Oliveti.

'Quarta autem die ——'

And here the MS. abruptly ends.

It is rather singular also that the entrance to the Holy churches is scarcely ever described by Pilgrim Sta. Sylvia as being the ordinary one, viz., by the doors of the basilica through the atrium.

The bishop, priests, and people are almost always described somewhat thus (*vide* p. 76)—'descendunt omnes

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. . . Hemicycle formam exprimebat. . . . In medio ara princeps erecta erat'; and p. 41 : 'De altari majori S. Petri et iis quæ erant in basilicæ abside sive tribuna.' I need scarcely say that the tribune was, in the early basilican churches, in the position and form now known as the apse.

monazontes et parthenæ . . . et laici præterea, viri aut mulieres' into the anastasis direct, as if the main entrance to the whole was from the high level.

I notice only one passage in which the main entrance to the basilica is specially noticed, viz., at p. 102. The Pilgrim first describes a procession to the Mount of Olives, and then says that it returned 'lente et lente ad martyrium.'

'Cum autem pervenitur ad portam civitatis . . . de porta autem, quoniam satis est usque ad ecclesia majore, id est ad martyrium, porro hora noctis forsitan secunda pervenitur, quia lente et lente itur totum pro populo, ne fatigentur pedibus.

'Et apertis balvis majoribus quæ sunt de quintana parte, omnis populus intrat in martyrium cum ymnis et episcopo. Ingressi autem in ecclesia dicuntur ymni, fit oratio, benedicuntur cathecumini et sic fideles, et inde denuo cum ymnis itur ad anastase.'

Now, in reviewing these varied accounts from various authors, of these sacred buildings, which were so utterly destroyed ages ago as to leave scarcely a trace behind, one is tempted at once to reconstruct their plan much as De Vogüé has done, viz., with a magnificent hemicycle forming the western termination to the basilica, to which it would form in effect a gigantic apse, and thus complete a magnificent architectural composition.

The words in which this hemicycle is described, viz., 'the main point of the whole building,' 'the head of the whole work,' 'the crowning part of the whole,' etc., would serve to justify this theory.

This was, in fact, my first idea, and I so sketched it in the small block plan which I gave (p. 104) in my 'Holy Places of Jerusalem,' but after going more thoroughly into the details by Eusebius and the lately published Pilgrim's account, I feel bound to alter those views so far as the position of the basilica is concerned.

The details which are vitally important are: 1st, that

there was a great open space, or great court set out at the beginning by Constantine ; 2nd, that there was such an open space between the basilica and the anastasis.

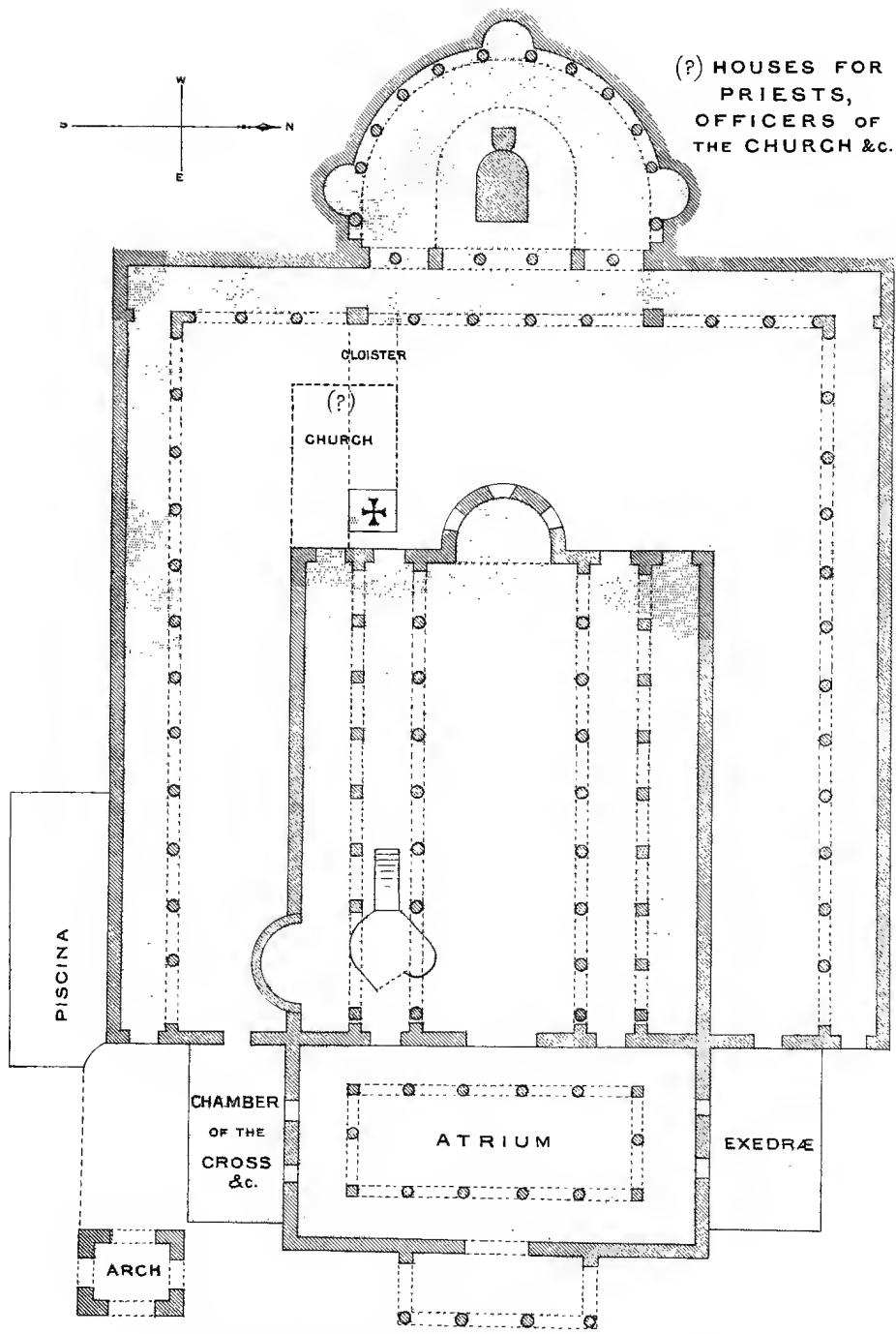
But, also, they seem to infer that the hemicycle was the western termination of the basilica, as appears to be implied by the manner in which Eusebius describes the great apse immediately after his notice of the three eastern doors.

The immediate connection of the basilica with the tomb is further suggested by a passage in Eusebius, wherein he first describes (Professor Bernard, p. 4) the grand buildings to be erected round the tomb, and then says (p. 5), 'Not only shall *this basilica* be the finest in the world,' etc., as if these buildings were to be incorporated in it.

Possibly the design was afterwards altered, and for the reason which I have hereinafter stated, I feel bound to put aside the picturesque interpretation given by De Vogüé, and to adopt the more prosaic one of Willis, so far as relates to the position of the basilica. But I cannot think that his plan does justice to Eusebius's description of the grand cloistered court, one of the main features of the whole design ; as to this I adhere to my first idea.

The annexed plan will show the conclusions to which all the evidence seems to point, viz., that the western end was a great hemicycle, much as is shown by Willis and De Vogüé. I suggest, however, that the position of the columns as I have shown (and which is that indicated on the engraved marble plan of Rome for Trajan's basilica) is a more likely form, and complying more nearly with the description of 'surrounding,' 'encircling,' etc. But it is quite possible that it might have been as I have shown by dotted lines on my plan (p. xxiv.).

From the account given of the adornment of the cave, viz., 'with choice columns, and with much ornament, decorating it with all kinds of adornments' (Professor Bernard, p. 7), there can be little doubt but that it was covered in to protect it from the snow and rain of the



RESTORATION PROPOSED BY T. H. LEWIS.



bitterly cold winter of Jerusalem, and from its dust-storms and fierce summer sun; and if we complete the end in the same way as is shown for Trajan's basilica in Fergusson's history (vol. i., p. 293), viz., with a semi-dome, we shall comply with the further description of this part, viz., its being 'the main point of the whole building,' 'the head of the whole work,' etc.

The arch may appear at first sight somewhat gigantic; but it would have been many feet less in width and height than that of Trajan's basilica, and it could well harmonize with the further description, viz., that it was raised to the very roof of the building.

The size of the open court cannot be precisely determined. But it must have been very large, as in addition to the evidence which I have already brought forward, we have the following account from the Pilgrim Sta. Sylvia (p. 97): 'At ubi autem sexta hora se fecerit sic itur ante Crucem sive pluvia sive estus est, quia ipse locus subdivanus est, id est quasi atrium *valde grande* et pulchrum satis, quod est inter cruce et anastase.' One very probable boundary to the south is given to us by the position of the great piscina built by Constantine, and I have so placed it.

This would bring the end of the southern cloister opposite to the ruined archway, now carefully preserved in the Russian ground, and I see no reason for disbelieving that this archway may be of Constantine's time<sup>1</sup> (plan, p. 34).

On a direct line with this archway, and extending north and west, are two thick walls (I. K.), now, also, in the Russian ground, and which are likely to be the remains of the south-eastern angle of the atrium, as shown on my plan. Still more eastward are the remains of another old wall which may have been, as De Vogüé also suggests, the base of the great colonnade in front of the atrium. The line of the western end of the basilica is equally open to doubt, but

<sup>1</sup> As to the position, etc., of this arch vide 'Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement,' January, 1888, p. 60.

we have some clue as to it in the statements of Eucherius and the Breviary, which distinctly imply that the Place of the Crucifixion was between the basilica or martyrium and the anastasis or Church of the Tomb and the Resurrection, and that these three holy places were detached from each other.

The same statement is implied in the description given by the Pilgrim Sta. Sylvia of the route of the processions from the anastasis to the cross, and thence to the basilica, viz., ‘In ecclesia majore quam fecit Constantinus, quæ ecclesia in Golgotha est post crucem’ (p. 80).

Also (p. 85), ‘Legat episcopus intra anastase locum resurrectionis . . . et ad crucem . . . Postmodum . . . proceditur . . . in ecclesia majore, quæ appellatur Martyrio, quæ est in Golgotha, post crucem.’

The words in the Breviary (p. 24), ‘with the open sky above it,’ etc., seem to imply that the rock which stood so prominently above the level of the court was open in the centre part at least, and surrounded merely by silver rails—very possibly connected, as Major Conder suggests, with the anastasis by a cloister. The description by Theodosius—‘sub uno tecto est’—may imply this.

The rock is, of course, there now as a definite landmark, and, to a certain extent, isolated : but, very probably, there was a church connected with it, although this is not distinctly mentioned. I have, therefore, merely indicated its supposed site by dotted lines.

I have shown the basilica to have double aisles on each side, and at the east end a space on each side of the atrium for the chamber of the Cross, exedræ, etc. Westward of the entrance to the basilica, I have marked the position of the subterranean Chapel of the Invention of the Cross.

The Chapel of St. Helena, leading to this, is evidently a construction of later date, built up of old materials, and not cut out of the rock, as was the lower chapel, and it need not be taken into consideration here. The staircase to the lower subterranean chapel would be thus placed inside the basilica, as is the case, e.g., at St. Anne’s Church, also in

Jerusalem, and of the more celebrated one to the sacred cave at Bethlehem.

The plan which I have given is the one which, so far as I can see, best meets the great difficulties of the case ; and the position of the basilica is substantially that assigned to it by Professor Willis, who, perhaps more than any other author, claims our attention from his learning and his intimate acquaintance with mediæval work. But I venture to differ from him as to the great court. Nor was there anything to support his views as to the apsidal finish of the basilica, so far as the descriptions given when he wrote. Such a form, no doubt, usually closed the end of a great church, but its solid walls and semi-dome would so block out the view of the grand feature of the whole work, viz., the tomb, towards which the whole structure was directed, that such an ending appeared to be scarcely admissible.

Since he wrote, however, other sources of information have become accessible, and the words of the latest authority, the Pilgrim Sta. Sylvia, are so precise as to appear to decide the question, and to show that Professor Willis's opinion was correct. The Pilgrim's words are these (p. 106) : 'Jam tunc venit episcopus mane in ecclesia majore ad martyrium, retro in absida post altarium ponitur cathedra episcopi.'

This would apply to such an end of the church as Professor Willis sketched out, and I frankly admit that in this respect I have altered the opinion which I formerly expressed. .

And, in considering as to the general restoration of this celebrated series of buildings comprised under the ordinary title of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we must bear in mind that it must have been designed under conditions which were and are absolutely without example, comprising three sites—viz., that of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Invention of the Cross, which are held by Christians to be the most holy on the face of the earth ; all placed in quite irregular positions with respect to each

other, one high above ground, another deeply below it, and all within a space which had been artificially brought to a level.

Against our modern ideas, also, and against all Eastern customs, the place of the altar and of the Patriarch's chair was at the west end, the atrium, or courtyard, and the place of the people being at the east. But Constantine's church was a Roman one, and in the old Roman basilicas this western position was the usual one, as is expressly mentioned in Eusebius's account of the Church at Tyre, the altar being detached, and the priest standing behind it, and thus facing eastward, to the people. But, further, we must remember that this interesting series of sacred buildings was designed at a time when the construction of great churches (many of them being scarcely excelled since either in size or internal beauty) was only commenced, and when the designs of their architects were of necessity crudely worked out, and in haste.

Their architect had before him as part of his everyday life the grand temples of paganism, with the narrow cell for the priests and their gods within, and the grand peristyles and porticos without, in which the people might worship or rest. He spread out the narrow cell, placed the columns within its ample space, and in the wide nave and aisles made room for the people who had once crowded the outer porticos of the pagans.

So, with that beautiful form, the Temple of the Sybil or of Vesta, which, long thought to have been in its origin Etruscan, we now know was borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks, as we find in the examples, now revealed to us at Epidaurus and Olympia.

Very beautiful it was; but the Christian architect wanted space for the people; and so he spread out the round walls also, placed within the space so gained the columns which he found without, formed to each building a wide circumambient aisle, and, upon these aisled columns, raised arches, and walls and dome.

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Very crude were, perhaps, these first attempts, and great was the sacrifice of old work which they entailed ; but their results were such buildings as St. John Lateran and St. Peter's at Rome, and such beautiful outlines as those of St. Constance's at Rome, and the round church at Nocera —buildings whose design governed the whole world of architectural art down to the time of Justinian, and which, modified by the requirements of various climates and nations, still governs to a large extent all Christian art in the West. But the time at which Constantine's work at Jerusalem, as in other places, was that of transition from the pagan temple to the Church of Christ ; the well-known rules of ancient architecture had ceased to govern the new, and we are therefore reduced in an inquiry like the present to move with slow and cautious steps in the footprints of the old pilgrims.

T. HAYTER LEWIS.



EXTRACTS FROM  
EUSEBIUS'S LIFE OF CONSTANTINE,  
ETC.

*TRANSLATED BY JOHN H. BERNARD, B.D.*

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**Book III.—CHAPTER 25.—***How he ordered to be erected at Jerusalem a Temple for Prayer in the Holy Place of our Saviour's Resurrection.*

AFTER these things [the emperor] beloved of God undertook another memorable work in the province of Palestine. What, then, was this? It seemed to him to be a duty to make conspicuous, and an object of veneration to all, the most blessed place of the Saviour's resurrection in Jerusalem. And so forthwith he gave orders for the building of a house of prayer, not having hit upon this project without the aid of God, but having been impelled to it in his spirit by the Saviour Himself.

**CHAPTER 26.—***How the Ungodly concealed the Divine Sepulchre with Heaps of Rubbish and with Idols.*

For ungodly men (or, rather, the whole race of demons by their means) set themselves to consign to darkness and oblivion that Divine monument of immortality at which the angel who came down from heaven, radiant with light, rolled away the stone for those who were stony in heart and supposed that the Living One was yet with the dead ; bringing good tidings to the women, and removing the stone of unbelief from their understanding, thus convincing<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ δόξῃ τῆς τοῦ ζητουμένου ζωῆς.

them of the life of Him whom they sought. This cave of salvation did certain ungodly and impious persons determine to hide from the eyes of men, foolishly imagining that they would in some such way as this conceal the truth. Having expended much labour in bringing in earth from outside, they cover up the whole place ; and then having raised this to a certain height, and having paved it with stone, they entirely conceal the Divine cave beneath a great mound. Next, as if nothing further were left for them to do, they prepare above ground a dreadful thing, a veritable sepulchre of souls, building to the impure demon, called Aphrodite, a dark shrine of lifeless idols,<sup>1</sup> and offering their foul oblations on profane and accursed altars. For in this way only, and in no other fashion, did they suppose that they would accomplish their purpose, even by concealing the cave of salvation by means of these detestable abominations. For the wretched men were not able to understand that it was not possible that He who had gained the prize of the victor over death should leave His glorious achievement in obscurity, any more than it is possible that the sun which shines over the earth, and runs its accustomed course in the heavens, should escape the notice of the whole race of men. In a far higher degree was that power of salvation, which illuminates the souls, and not merely the bodies of men, filling the whole world with its own rays of light. But be that as it may, the machinations of ungodly and impious men against the truth continued for a long time ; no one of the governors, of the prætors, or even of the emperors, was found capable of abolishing these daring impieties, save only that one who was dear to God the Ruler of all. He, being inspired by the Divine Spirit, could not bear to see the place we have been speaking of concealed through the artifices of adversaries by all kinds of impurity, and consigned to oblivion and neglect, nor did he yield to the malice of those who

<sup>1</sup> *νεκρῶν εἰδώλων σκότιον Ἀφροδίτης ἀκολάστῳ δαίμονι μυχὸν οἰκοδομησάμενοι.*

had brought this about; but calling upon God to help him, he gave orders that the place should be purified, counting it especially fitting that a spot which had been polluted by his enemies should enjoy the mighty working of the All-good at his hands. And as soon as his orders were given the contrivances of deceit were cast down from on high to the ground, and the dwelling-places of error, images, and demons and all, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER 27.—*How Constantine ordered the Materials of the Idol Temple and of the Mound to be thrown far away.*

Nor did his zeal stop here. The emperor further gave directions that the material of that which was destroyed, both wood and stone, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible, which was done in accordance with his command. But only to go thus far did not satisfy him. Again, being inspired with holy zeal,<sup>1</sup> he issued orders that, having dug up the soil to a considerable depth, they should transport to a far-distant spot the actual ground, earth and all, inasmuch as it had been polluted by the defilements of demon-worship.

CHAPTER 28.—*Discovery of the most Holy Sepulchre.*

This also was accomplished without delay. And as one layer after another was laid bare, the place which was beneath the earth appeared; then forthwith, contrary to all expectation, did the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection become visible, and the most holy cave received what was an exact emblem of His coming to life. For after its descent into darkness it again came forth into light, and afforded to those who came to see a clear insight into the history of the wonders which had there been wrought, testifying to the resurrection of the Saviour by deeds more eloquent than any voice could be.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιθεάσας, or *having called upon God.*

CHAPTER 29.—*How he wrote concerning the Building to the Governors and to Macarius the Bishop.*

These things being so done, forthwith the emperor, by the injunction of pious edicts, accompanied by the abundant supply of all things needful, gave orders that a house of prayer worthy of God should be erected round about<sup>1</sup> the cave of salvation on a scale of rich and imperial costliness. This project he had had for some time in view, and had foreseen, as if by superior intelligence, what was going to happen. To the governors of the provinces in the East [he gave instructions] that with liberal and abundant grants they should make the work exceeding large, great and costly; but to the bishop who at that time presided over the Church in Jerusalem he sent the following letter, in which he set forth the saving doctrine of the faith in clear language, writing thus :

CHAPTER 30.—*Constantine's Letter to Macarius concerning the Building of the Saviour's Memorial.*

CONSTANTINE, VICTOR, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, TO  
MACARIUS.

' So great is the grace of our Saviour that no power of language seems worthy to describe the present wonder. For that the token of that most holy passion,<sup>2</sup> long ago buried under ground, should have remained unknown for so many cycles of years, until it should shine forth to His servants now set free through the removal of him<sup>3</sup> who was the common enemy of all, truly transcends all marvel. For if all who are reputed wise throughout all the world

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφὶ.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἀγωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους. It has been urged that here we have an allusion to the Invention of the Cross by Helena; but if Eusebius intended to refer to this, he would certainly have done so more explicitly. His language is quite explicable without any such particular application.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Licinius, whose death occurred A.D. 326.

were to come together to one place and try to say something worthy of this event, they would not be able to match themselves against such a work in the smallest degree; for the nature of this wonder as far transcends all capacity of man's reason as Divine things surpass in permanence those which are human. Wherefore this is always my first and only object, that as the faithfulness of the truth displays itself daily by fresh wonders, so the souls of us all may become more zealous for the holy law<sup>1</sup> in all sobriety and earnestness with concord. I desire, then, that you should especially be convinced of this (which, indeed, I suppose is plain to everyone), that of all things it is most my care how we may adorn with splendour of buildings that sacred spot which, under Divine direction, I relieved as it were from an incumbent load, even from the disgraceful adjunct of an idol—a place holy indeed from the beginning in God's judgment, but which has been made to appear still more holy since it brought to light the assurance . . . e Saviour's passion.

CHAPTER 31.—*That the Building should surpass all the Churches in the World in the Beauty of its Walls, Columns, and Marbles.*

' It is therefore fitting that your sagacity do so order and make provision for everything necessary, that not only shall this basilica be the finest in the world, but that the details also shall be such that all the fairest structures in every city may be surpassed by it. Concerning the building and beautifying of the walls, know that my intention has been entrusted to my friend Dracilianus, deputy of the prætorian prefects, and to the governor of the province. For by my piety has it been commanded them that artificers and workmen and all things which they may learn from your sagacity to be necessary for the building shall be furnished by their provision. Concerning the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge after the plan has been inspected

*I.e., Christianity.*

to be most precious and most serviceable, be careful to inform us in writing; that those things of whatever sort, and in whatever quantity, which we learn from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter. For it is just that the place which is more wonderful than the whole world should be worthily decorated.

CHAPTER 32.—*How he directed the Workmen concerning the Beauty of the Inner Roof,<sup>1</sup> and also concerning the Workmen and the Materials.*

‘As to the roof of the basilica, I wish to know from you whether you think it should have a panelled<sup>2</sup> ceiling or be finished in any other fashion. If it be panelled, it may also be ornamented with gold. It remains for your holiness to make it known to the aforesaid magistrates with all speed how many workmen and artificers, and what expenditure of money, is needful; and you will also be careful to report forthwith to me, not only concerning the marbles and the columns, but also concerning the panelled ceiling if you should judge this the more beautiful.

‘God guard you, beloved brother! ’

CHAPTER 33.—*How the Church of the Saviour was built, which was the New Jerusalem of the Prophets.*

These things did the emperor write, and his instructions were at once carried into effect. So on the monument of salvation itself<sup>3</sup> was the new Jerusalem built, over against<sup>4</sup> the one so famous of old, which, after the pollution caused by the murder of the Lord, experienced the last extremity of desolation, and paid the penalty for the crime of its impious inhabitants. Opposite this the emperor reared, with rich and lavish expenditure, the trophy of the Saviour’s

<sup>1</sup> κόγχη generally signifies the *apse*, but here apparently is equivalent to *καμάρα*, the *vaulted roof*.

<sup>2</sup> λακωνία. Cf. Verg., *AEn.*, i. 726 . . . *dependent lychni laquearibus aureis.*

<sup>3</sup> κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ σωτήριον μαρτύριον.

<sup>4</sup> ἀντιπρόσωπος.

victory over death. Perhaps this was that strange and new Jerusalem, proclaimed in the oracles of the prophets, to which long passages prophesying by the aid of the Divine spirit make countless allusions in song. And, first of all, he adorned the sacred cave, which was, as it were, the chief part of the whole work, that Divine monument at which once an angel, radiant with light, proclaimed to all the good news of regeneration manifested through the Saviour.

CHAPTER 34.—*Description of the Building of the Holy Sepulchre.*

This first, as the chief part of the whole, the liberality of the emperor beautified with choice columns and with much ornament, decorating it with all kinds of adornments.

CHAPTER 35.—*Description of the Atrium and the Porticos.*

Next one crossed over to a very large space of ground, to wit, the *atrium*,<sup>1</sup> open to the pure air of heaven; the floor of which a polished stone pavement adorned, bounded by long porticos which ran round continuously on three sides.<sup>2</sup>

CHAPTER 36.—*Description of the Walls, Roof, Decoration, and Gilding of the Nave of the Church.*

For adjoining the site opposite the cave, which looked towards the rising sun, the basilica was erected, an extraordinary work, reared to an immense height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. Slabs of variegated marble lined the inside of the building, and the appearance of the walls outside exhibited a spectacle of surpassing beauty,

<sup>1</sup> The Greek is εἰς καθαρὸν αἴθριον ἀναπεπταμενόν, but it is probable that the text is corrupt. It would be strange to use αἴθριον in the sense of *court*, in the heading of the chapter, and as signifying *air* in the second line, more especially as the natural phrase εἰς ἀέρα καθαρὸν ἀναπεπταμενόν occurs in Bk. IV., 59. However, there is no doubt as to the meaning in any case.

<sup>2</sup> μακροῖς περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλεύρου περιεχόμενον.

no whit inferior to the appearance of marble, shining brightly with polished stones fitting exactly into each other. With regard to the roof, a covering of lead fortified it all round outside, a sure protection against the rains of winter; but the inside was finished with carvings of panel work, and, like a great sea, extended over the whole basilica in a series of connected compartments;<sup>1</sup> and being overlaid throughout with radiant gold, it made the whole temple as it were to glitter with rays of light.

CHAPTER 37.—*Description of the Double Porticos on each Side, and of the Three Eastern Gates.*

And at each side of the two porticos, with upper and lower ranges, twin colonnades extended the whole length of the temple, these also having their ceilings ornamented with gold. Of these the colonnades towards the front of the building were supported by columns of very vast size, but the inner rows rested on piers;<sup>2</sup> the ornamentation of these piers on the surface was very great. Three gates facing the rising sun were to admit the entering crowd.

[As this passage is obscure, the Greek is appended. The basilica seems to have been divided into three aisles, by two rows of pillars with upper and lower ranges, somewhat as in a modern galleried church. The galleries which were usual in the heathen basilicas were retained, the pillars which supported them resting on square piers. Hence these ranges of pillars are called in the heading of the chapter διπλαὶ στοά, as having upper as well as lower tiers. The words ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων do not mean ‘above and below ground,’ as has often been supposed. καταγεῖος is

<sup>1</sup> συνεχέσι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλας συμπλοκαῖς ἀνευρόμενα. The ceiling was probably portioned out into divisions (*cassettes*), which were richly carved and gilded.

<sup>2</sup> ἀμφὶ δὲ ἐκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ διπτῶν στοῶν, ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάντες τῷ μήκει τοῦ νεώ συνεξετείνοντο, . . ὃν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ οἴκου κίοσι παμεγέθεσιν ἐπηρείδοντο, αἱ δὲ εἰσω τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἵππο πεσσοῖς ἀνηγείροντο.

the regular word to express ‘on the ground floor,’ as opposed to ὑπερῷος. Cf. chap. 50, sub fin., and also Dion. H., x. 32, sub fin.

The word παραστάδες, which has been rendered *colonnades*, brings in fresh difficulty, for παραστάδες properly = *end-pilasters* = Latin *antæ*; but this meaning will not apply here. Possibly παραστάδες is a corruption for πάσταδες, as it demonstrably is in Anth. P. 9, 245. In any case the meaning seems to be that great colonnades ran along the *outside* of the Temple, supported by enormous columns. I have adopted Heinichen’s punctuation, but if we put the comma after πλευρὰ, rather than after στοῦν, the passage must be rendered differently. ‘Round both sides, twin colonnades of two porticos with upper and lower ranges extended,’ etc.—στοῦν being the genitive of material after παραστάδες; thus will be implied the existence of five aisles and two rows of pillars on each side.]

### CHAPTER 38.—*Description of the ‘Hemisphere,’ the Twelve Columns and their ‘Bowls.’*

Opposite these was the ‘hemisphere,’ the main point of the whole building, stretching out towards the roof of the basilica, which twelve columns surrounded,<sup>1</sup> equal in number to the Apostles of the Saviour, adorned on their summits with great bowls of silver,<sup>2</sup> which the emperor gave—a splendid offering—to his God.

[What are we to understand here by ἡμισφαῖρον ?

It is not a technical term of ecclesiastical architecture, so that we are left to conjecture what feature in the building would have been regarded by Eusebius as suggesting the form of a hemisphere. Some have translated it ‘apse,’ as if it were ἡμικύκλιον, an entirely different word; but no man looking into a basilica would dream of speaking of a

<sup>1</sup> τούτων δ’ ἀντικρὺ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαῖρον ἦν, ἐπ’ ἄκρον τοῦ βασιλείου ἐκτεταμένον, δὲ δὴ δυνακαίδεκα κίονες ἐστεφάνουν.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, with silver capitals.

semicircular apse as a *hemisphere*, so that we may safely reject this explanation. It must have been a cupola of some kind, and very probably was a sort of great baldachin or canopy covering the altar supported by twelve great columns with silver capitals, and extending *towards* (not *up to*) the roof of the basilica. This agrees partly with the note which Valesius has in loc.: ‘Sic vocat altare basilicæ eo quod in formam hemisphærii fabricatum esset.’ A baldachin of this kind would be a very striking object from the eastern door (to which it was ‘opposite’), and would naturally suggest the word *ἡμισφαλριον*.]

#### CHAPTER 39.—*Description of the Atrium, the Exhedrae<sup>1</sup>, and the Gates.*

Then as people go towards the entrances which lie in front of the temple, one comes upon an atrium. There were here on each side, first a court, then porticos on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the wide market-place, the main entrance<sup>2</sup> of the whole edifice, of exquisite workmanship, presented to the passers-by on the outside a striking view of the interior.

#### CHAPTER 40.—*Concerning the Number of the Offerings.*

This temple then did the emperor raise as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection. And having decorated it throughout in costly and imperial fashion, he adorned it with very many gifts of indescribable beauty, gold and silver and precious stones set in different materials; the skilful and elaborate arrangement of which in regard to size, number, and variety I have no leisure at present to describe particularly.

<sup>1</sup> The *ἴξεδραι* were recessed chambers off the cloisters. Mr. Willis remarks on the fact that there is no mention of these exhedrae in the chapter itself as the text stands, and suggests that the text is corrupt. (Williams, ‘Holy City,’ vol. ii., p. 245.) But cf. Preface, p. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> προπύλαια.

## [CHURCHES OF BETHLEHEM AND MOUNT OF OLIVES.]

CHAPTER 41.—*Concerning the Building of Churches in Bethlehem and in the Mount of Olives.*

And having selected other places in the same region which were held in honour on account of two sacred caves, he adorned them also with lavish expenditure ; rendering due honour to that cave which had been the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour when He submitted to be born in the flesh, and (in the case of the second) magnifying the memory of His ascension into heaven on the mountain-top. And to these he gave magnificent honours, thus immortalizing the memory of his mother, who did such good service to mankind.

CHAPTER 42.—*How the Empress Helena, Constantine's Mother, having visited the Place for Devotional Purposes, built Three Churches.*

For she, having purposed to pay the due meed of a pious disposition to God the Ruler of all, thought it right to make thankofferings by means of prayers for her son, now so great an emperor, and for his sons, her own descendants, the Cæsars beloved by God ; and so she came, though advanced in years, with the energy of youth to acquaint herself with this land worthy of all veneration, with exceeding wisdom, and to visit with imperial solicitude the provinces, townships, and people. And when she had bestowed fitting worship on the footprints of the Saviour, in accordance with the prophetic word which says, ‘ Let us worship at the place where His feet have stood,’<sup>1</sup> she immediately bequeathed to those who were to come after the fruit of her personal piety.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 7, LXX.

CHAPTER 43.—*Concerning the Church at Bethlehem.*

And forthwith she dedicated two temples to the God whom she worshipped, one at the Cave of the Nativity, and the other on the Mount of the Ascension. For He who was God with us submitted for our sakes to be born under ground, and the place of His birth in the flesh was called by the Hebrews Bethlehem. Wherefore the most pious empress adorned the scene of the travail of the Mother of God with rare monuments, beautifying in every way this sacred cave ; and shortly afterward the emperor also honoured it with imperial offerings, with treasures of gold and silver, and with embroidered curtains, thus enhancing the artistic designs of his mother.

Again the imperial mother erected a stately edifice on the Mount of Olives as a monument of the progress into heaven of the Saviour of all,<sup>1</sup> raising a sacred church and temple on the mountain ridge at the very summit of the hill. Here, in this cave, true history has it that the Saviour of all initiated His disciples into sacred mysteries. Here did the empress honour the Great King with offerings and beautiful gifts of all kinds. And so Helena Augusta, the God-beloved mother of a God-beloved prince, dedicated to God her Saviour, as tokens of her pious disposition, these two venerable and beautiful sacred edifices at the two Divine caves, which are indeed worthy of everlasting remembrance, her son affording her the aid of his imperial authority. Not long after the aged lady received her due reward, having passed the whole time of her life up to the very threshold of old age in all good things, showing forth the goodly fruits of the message of salvation in word and deed ; and having consequently spent a life of healthy purpose, well ordered and tranquil in body and soul alike, she at length received from God an end worthy of her piety, as well as a recompense of good things in the present life.

<sup>1</sup> ἱερὸν οἰκου ἐκκλησίας ἀνεγειρούσσα, νεών τε, i.e., a basilica with its outer courts.

## [CHURCH AT CONSTANTINOPLE.]

CHAPTER 48.—*How he built Martyr Memorials at Constantinople, and abolished all Idolatry.*

And distinguishing with special honour the city which was called after his own name, he adorned it with many places of worship, very large martyr memorials, and very splendid buildings, some in the suburbs,<sup>1</sup> and others in the city itself; by which he at the same time honoured the memory of the martyrs and dedicated his city to the martyrs' God. And being altogether inspired with Divine wisdom, he determined to purge from all idolatry that city which he had decreed should be called by his own name; so that there should nowhere appear in it statues of the gods of common repute worshipped in the temples, nor altars defiled by pollutions of blood, nor whole burnt offerings, nor demon festivals, nor any other thing customary among the superstitious.

## [CHURCHES OF NICOMEDIA AND ANTIOCH.]

CHAPTER 50.—*How he built Churches in Nicomedia and in other Cities.*

Thus, then, he beautified his own city. But he honoured in like manner the chief city of Bithynia<sup>2</sup> by the offering of a great and splendid church, out of his own treasure erecting here in honour of his Saviour a memorial of his victory over his enemies and the adversaries of God.

And he caused the chief cities of the other provinces to excel in the magnificence of their places of worship, as, for example, in the case of that eastern metropolis which derived its name from Antiochus.<sup>3</sup> Here, as it was the chief place of the provinces in that region, he consecrated

<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Nicomedia.  
I.e., Antioch.

a church really unique, both in size and in beauty. Surrounding the whole building with an enclosure of great extent, he raised the house of prayer which was inside to a great height ; this was built in the form of an octagon with many chambers and exhedræ all round it, and on every side upper and lower stories.<sup>1</sup> This he decorated with a profusion of gold<sup>2</sup> and brass, and ornaments of other costly material.

### [CHURCH AT MAMRE.]

#### CHAPTER 51.—*How he ordered a Church to be built at Mamre.*

Such were the emperor's most notable sacred buildings. But having heard that one and the same Saviour, who had lately appeared on earth, had also long ago afforded a manifestation of His Divine presence to pious men in Palestine near the oak of Mamre,<sup>3</sup> he ordered that a house of prayer should be raised there to the God who was seen. And to the rulers of the provinces an imperial commission went by letters forwarded to each, bidding them bring to completion what had been proposed ; but to us who write this history he sent instruction in the matter, entering more into reasons,<sup>4</sup> an exact copy of which I think it well to insert in this present work, that his pious care may be clearly discerned. Finding fault with practices which he had heard went on at the place in question, he wrote to me in the following terms :

<sup>1</sup> οῖκοις δὲ πλείστιν, ἐξέδραις τε ἐν κύκλῳ, ὑπερψάν τε καὶ καταγείων χωρημάτων. Cf. note on chap. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Jerome says, in Chron. an. 22. Constantini, ‘Antiochiae dominicum quod vocant aureum, ædificari coeptum.’

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Antonin. Placent., Itiner. xxx., *Quercus Mamre*. ‘Basilica ædificata est in quadriportico atrium in medio discoopertum : et per medium cancellorum ex uno latere intrant Christiani, ex alio Judæi, facientes incensa multa.’

<sup>4</sup> λογικωτέραν διδασκαλίαν.

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CHAPTER 52.—*Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mamre.*

CONSTANTINE, VICTOR, MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, TO MACARIUS  
AND THE OTHER BISHOPS OF PALESTINE.

'One benefit, and that a very great one, has been conferred on me by that most pious lady, my wife's mother,<sup>1</sup> in that she has informed me by letters of the mad folly of abandoned men which has hitherto escaped your notice; for thus the error that has been overlooked may obtain at my hands that fitting correction and attention which, if somewhat tardy, is yet necessary. For truly it is a very great impiety that the holy places should be defiled with unhallowed pollutions. What, then, dearest brethren, was that concerning which, though it eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak could not keep silence because of her reverence for God ?

CHAPTER 53.—*How the Saviour appeared there to Abraham.*

'She says that the place which is called after the oak of Mamre, where we learn that Abraham had his home, is defiled in every possible way by certain superstitious persons; for she declared that idols worthy of utter destruction are being erected beside it, and that an altar stands near, and that impure sacrifices are continually offered. Now, since this seems to our majesty to be both foreign to the spirit of our times and unworthy of the sanctity of the place, we wish to inform your reverences<sup>2</sup> that we have by letter signified to the illustrious Count Acacius our friend that without any delay the idols, as many as may be found in the aforesaid place, are to be committed to the flames, and that the altar is to be completely demolished; and we also regard anyone who after this our mandate shall dare to perform any impious act in

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Eutropia, mother of the Empress Fausta.

<sup>2</sup> ὑμῶν τὴν σεμνότητα.

this place, as worthy of condign punishment. We have given further orders that the place itself shall be adorned with an unpolluted building—a basilica—that it may be made a fit place of assembly for holy men. And if anything be done contrary to this injunction, it is fitting that without any delay it be clearly communicated to our clemency by letters from you, in order that we may direct the detected person to undergo the extreme penalty as a transgressor of the law. For you are not ignorant that there first did God the Lord of all appear to Abraham and converse with him ; there first did the observance of the holy law<sup>1</sup> receive its beginning ; there first did the Saviour Himself with the two angels vouchsafe the manifestation of His presence to Abraham ; there He gave promise to Abraham concerning his future, and forthwith fulfilled that promise ; there He foretold that he would be the father of very many nations. Since these things are so, it is proper, as it seems to me, that this place should be kept by your care free from all pollution, and should be restored to its primitive sanctity ; that nothing should be done there except the performance of fitting service to Him who is Almighty God and our Saviour and Lord of all. This it is fitting that you should care for with due attention, if, indeed (as I am persuaded), your reverence wishes to accomplish my wishes, which are especially concerned with the service of God.

‘God guard you, brethren beloved !’

[CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES AT  
CONSTANTINOPLE.]

**Book IV.—CHAPTER 58.—***Concerning the Building of the so-called Memorial Church of the Apostles at Constantinople.*

AFTER these things he prepared to build the memorial church in memory of the Apostles in the city called after

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Christianity.

his name. Having reared the whole building to a vast height, he made it resplendent with stone of every kind and colour, facing it from foundation to roof with marble, marking the divisions of the ceiling by finely-wrought panels,<sup>1</sup> and covering the whole with gold. Above, instead of tiles, brass afforded a secure protection to the building against rain, and around this also much gold shone, so that it shot forth flashes by the reflecting rays of the sun to those viewing it from a distance. And he surrounded the roof with reticulated work in low relief<sup>2</sup> finely wrought in brass and in gold.

### CHAPTER 59.—*Description of the same Memorial.*

Of such attention accompanied by lavish expenditure on the part of the emperor was the church thought worthy. Around it there was a very large court, open to the pure air of heaven; porticos ran round the four sides of this, enclosing the atrium, with the church itself in the middle. And extended along the porticos were halls and lavatories and lodging rooms,<sup>3</sup> and many other apartments<sup>4</sup> adapted for the use of the guardians of the place.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH AT TYRE, REBUILT AFTER THE CESSATION OF THE PERSECUTION, ON THE OLD SITE, BY PAULINUS THE BISHOP.

[EXTRACTED FROM THE PANEGYRIC ON PAULINUS  
PRONOUNCED BY EUSEBIUS: Eus., Hist. Eccl., x. 4.]

§ 36. Now, this our new and noble Zerubbabel, having heard by the acute perception of his mind the word which proclaimed that she who had become desolate for the sake

<sup>1</sup> διαλαβών δὲ λεπτοῖς φατνώμασι τὴν στέγην.

<sup>2</sup> δικτυωτὰ δὲ πέριξ ἐκύελου τὸ δωμάτιον ἀνάγλυφα.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνακαμπτήρια = *diversoria*. Perhaps, however, it here means 'cloistered walks,' as Liddell and Scott suggest.

<sup>4</sup> καταγώγια.

of God must enjoy these things, after that bitter captivity and the ‘abomination of desolation’ did not spurn the fallen thing as if dead; but first of all by prayers and supplications having propitiated the Father with the concurrence of you all, and having taken as his ally and fellow-worker Him who alone can give life to the dead, he raised again her who had fallen, having purified her and healed her from her ills. And he cast round her not the old garment of ancient time, but such a one as he had been taught by the Divine oracles, which clearly say: ‘And the latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former.’<sup>1</sup>

§ 37. Thus, then, having enclosed a much larger space of ground, he secured the outside circuit by a wall running all round, so that it might be a most safe protection of the whole.

§ 38. The great and lofty entrance-gate<sup>2</sup> he spread out towards the rays of the rising sun, and so afforded a full view of the inside to those standing far without the sacred precincts, all but turning the eyes of strangers to the faith towards the first entrances,<sup>3</sup> so that no one may pass by without being affected in mind by the recollection of the former desolation coupled with the present incredible magnificence. By this he hoped that the person so affected would perhaps also be drawn near and urged by the sight itself to enter.

§ 39. But when one had come inside the gates he did not permit him straightway with impure and unwashen feet to proceed to the sanctuary within, for he intercepted a large space between the temple and the first entrances. This he adorned by surrounding it with four porticos placed at right angles to each other,<sup>4</sup> thus enclosing the ground in the form of a rectangle. Columns rose up on each side, the space between which he filled in with latticed

<sup>1</sup> Hagg. ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> προπύλων, i.e., the gate into the atrium.

<sup>3</sup> τὰς πρώτας εἰσόδους.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγκαρσίοις στοαις.

wooden partitions<sup>1</sup> rising to the proper height ; but he left open to the sight of heaven an atrium in the middle, which thus afforded a view of the sky,<sup>2</sup> bright and exposed to the beams of the sun.

§ 40. Here he placed symbols of the sacred purifications, providing fountains right opposite the temple, and abundant was the flow of running water by which means of cleansing were afforded to those going on farther into the sacred precincts.<sup>3</sup> Here is the first halting-place of those who enter, presenting a spectacle of symmetry and beauty to everyone, and also affording the fitting station for those who as yet lack the first introductions.<sup>4</sup>

§ 41. And having passed by this sight, he made open passages<sup>5</sup> into the nave [of the church] with several more inner entrance gates,<sup>6</sup> having placed in a row three gates towards the rays of the rising sun. Of these he especially favoured the middle one, so that it far surpassed those on each side in height and in breadth ; decorating it sumptuously with iron-bound plates of bronze, and with ornaments worked in low relief, so that it was like a queen attended by her satellites.

§ 42. And in the same way, having disposed the number of the entrance gates corresponding to the porticos on each side of the whole nave,<sup>7</sup> he planned passages<sup>8</sup> into the

<sup>1</sup> διαφράγμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου δικτυωτοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> ἀέρα παρέχον.

<sup>3</sup> The purity of the body was regarded as emblematic of the purity of the soul. Thus the following curious inscription is said to have been found in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople : ΝΙΨΟΝΑΝΟΜΗΜΑΤΑΜΗΜΟΝΑΨΙΝ ('Wash away my sins, and not the outward form only'). This inscription will read either from right to left or from left to right, the same words being preserved in either case ; a verse of this sort was called *versus supinus*.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.*, the first class of penitents. From the fact that in this open court the penitents were exposed to the weather, it was often called *locus hyemantium*.

<sup>5</sup> παρόδους.

<sup>6</sup> προπύλαις.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.*, there were three north gates and three south gates, as there were three east gates into the basilica.

<sup>8</sup> εἴσοδοιας. This cannot mean 'windows,' though it has been so

body of the church, conspicuous by the more abundant light [which came in] from above on the porticos; and he adorned them with fine work in wood, varying the ornamentation upon them. But he furnished the basilica itself with richer and more costly materials, applying an ungrudging liberality in its expenses.

§ 43. Here I count it superfluous to record the dimensions of the building in length and breadth, its brilliant beauty and its grandeur passing description; or to describe in detail the dazzling appearance of the various works, its heights reaching to heaven, and the costly cedars of Lebanon resting on these, of which the Divine oracles themselves have not unmindfully been silent, saying, ‘The trees of the Lord shall be made glad, and the cedars of Lebanon which He hath planted.’<sup>1</sup>

§ 44. Why should it now be needful for me to give a minute account of the all-wise and masterly disposition of the whole, and the excessive beauty of each particular part, when the evidence of sight precludes that instruction which comes through the ear? For when he had thus finished the temple, he adorned it with lofty thrones<sup>2</sup> in honour of those who preside, and also with seats<sup>3</sup> decently ranged in order throughout the whole building; in addition to all, placing the Holy of Holies—viz., the altar—in the middle. This again, that it might be inaccessible to the multitude,

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rendered, but must signify ‘passages’ or ‘entrances,’ as we see from § 45, where the word recurs. It is not easy to understand how they were lighted ‘from above,’ but the passage is very obscure; cf. § 64. The Greek is as follows: ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ ταῦταις ἄλλῳ πλείονι φωτὶ διαφόρους τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον εἴσβολας ἐπενόει. It has been suggested that the εἴσβολαι were openings from the galleries (*ἀνωθεν*) into the nave, but this does not agree with § 45, and, further, there is no mention of steps of any sort. They were simply passages, which also served the purpose of admitting more light into the church.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. civ. 16.

<sup>2</sup> θρόνοις.

<sup>3</sup> βάθροις. It appears, from the allegorical explanation in §§ 66, 67, that the θρόνοι were for the bishops and presbyters, and the βάθρα καὶ καθιστήρια for the inferior clergy. The laity stood.

he surrounded with wooden lattices,<sup>1</sup> perfectly finished with the most cunning workmanship, so that the sight presented to the beholders was admirable indeed.

§ 45. But not even the pavement was neglected by him, for this he adorned very splendidly with marble. And next he turned to the outside of the temple, skilfully providing spacious exhedræ and outbuildings on each side, attached to the sides of the basilica, and connected with the passages into the central building.<sup>2</sup> These also did our most peaceful Solomon, the builder of this temple of God, erect for those who yet need purification and cleansings by means of water and the Holy Spirit, so that the prophecy quoted above is no longer only in word, but fulfilled in fact. For now how true is it that 'the latter glory of this house exceeds the former'!

[Eusebius now proceeds to expound the allegorical significance of the different parts of the edifice. We translate two sections, which help to explain the design of the building.]

§ 63. Building, then, in righteousness, he distinguished by a due estimate the capacities of the whole people; for some merely surrounding the external enclosure having walled it round with an unwavering faith. For of such a nature are a great number of the people, being capable of supporting no superior edifice. But to others he granted an entrance into the body of the church, bidding them stand at the doors and guide those who are entering in, these being not unfitly likened to the front entrances<sup>3</sup> of the temple. Again, he supported others by the first columns which are round

<sup>1</sup> These rails, or κιγκλίδες, are the Latin *cancelli*, whence our word *chancel*.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξέδρας καὶ οἴκους τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων εὐτέχνως, ἐπὶ ταῦτὸν εἰς πλευρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ φ συνεζευγμένους καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἰκον εἰσβολαῖς ἡνωμένους. These exhedræ were used as baptisteries, consistories, etc.

<sup>3</sup> ποόπυλα.

the rectangular court outside, placing them on those primal supports of the letter of the Four Gospels.<sup>1</sup> And others again he sets on either side round the basilica, being as yet catechumens, and in a state of growth and progress, but not very far distant from the Divine vision of the faithful within.

§ 64. And from among them having received those pure souls who are cleansed like gold by the Divine washing, he here supports some of them by columns far superior to the external ones, viz., by the inner mystic doctrines of Scripture ; but others he illuminates by the openings made for the purpose of giving light.<sup>2</sup> The whole temple he adorned with one greatest entrance gate of doxology to the one only God, the King of all.

[We append here, for easy reference, some extracts from the early Latin Pilgrims descriptive of the Holy Places alluded to by Eusebius.]

### PILGRIM OF BORDEAUX, 333 A.D. (Tobler, p. 18.)

THENCE as you go outside the wall of Sion, as you proceed towards the gate of Neapolis, on the right hand, down in the valley, are walls where was the house or the prætorium of Pontius Pilate. There the Lord was heard before He suffered. But on the left side is the little hill of Golgotha, where the Lord was crucified. Then about a stone's throw from this is the crypt where His body was placed and rose again the third day. There lately, by order of the Emperor Constantine, a basilica has been built, that is a church<sup>3</sup> of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs<sup>4</sup> whence water is raised, and a bath behind where infants are washed.

<sup>1</sup> ταῖς πρώταις τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελίων τοῦ γράμματος προβολαῖς ἐμβιβάζων.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀνοίγμασι. Cf. § 42 and the note thereon.

<sup>3</sup> 'Dominicum.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Exceptoria.'

THE EPITOME OF [THE PSEUDO] S. EUCHE-  
RIUS CONCERNING CERTAIN HOLY PLACES.  
(§ iv., p. 52, ed. Tobler.)

FIRST concerning the holy places.

On account of the disposition of the streets, we must turn aside to the basilica, which is called the memorial (*martyrium*), built with great magnificence by Constantine. Thence, adjacent on the west side, are seen Golgotha and the anastasis ; the anastasis is in the place of the resurrection, but Golgotha, midway between the anastasis and the memorial, is the place of the Lord's passion, where also the rock is visible which once supported the cross itself, with the body of the Lord affixed to it. These,<sup>1</sup> however, are perceived to be situated beyond (*extra*) Mount Sion, where there is a depression of the rising ground as it stretches towards the north.<sup>2</sup>

THE 'BREVIARY,' OR SHORT DESCRIPTION  
OF JERUSALEM. (Tobler, p. 57.)

THE city itself is situated on a hill. In the midst of the city is Constantine's basilica. At the entrance to the basilica, on the left hand, is a chamber<sup>3</sup> where the cross of the Lord is placed. And entering thence into the church of holy Constantine, there is a great vaulted arch,<sup>4</sup> westward, where the three crosses were found. And there, above, is an altar of silver and pure gold, and nine columns which support that altar. And the vaulted arch itself<sup>5</sup> is [formed

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, Golgotha and the anastasis.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quo se ad aquilonem deficiens loci tumor porrigit.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Cubiculum.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Absida' is not an *apse*, but an *arch* or *vault* (Pl. Ep., ii. 17, 8) ; it is called *ἡμισφαῖρον* by Eusebius (Vit. Const., iii. 38). Ducange quotes Papias, 'Absida est hemispherium.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Et ipsa absida in circuitu duodecim columnæ marmoreæ.'

by] twelve marble columns in a circle, and (what is altogether incredible) upon the columns themselves there are twelve silver urns.<sup>1</sup> There is also in the midst of the city that basilica where is the spear with which the Lord was pierced ; of it is made a cross, and it shines by night like the sun at noonday.<sup>2</sup>

And thence you enter into Golgotha. There is here a great court (*atrium*) where the Lord was crucified. All round, on the hill itself, are silver railings ; and on the hill itself a kind of flint rock is noticed.<sup>3</sup> It has a silver door where the Lord's cross was displayed, all adorned with gold and gems, with the open sky above it; the railings, too, are much adorned with gold and silver. Here is that charger<sup>4</sup> in which the head of St. John was carried ; here is that horn with which David and Solomon were anointed, and that very ring with which Solomon sealed his discourses<sup>5</sup> (it is made of amber) ; here Adam was formed out of the clay ; here Abraham offered up Isaac his son, as a sacrifice, in the very place where our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified.

Thence going westward you enter the [Church of the] Holy Resurrection, where is the sepulchre of the Lord, before which is the [famous] stone, a kind of flint. Above it a church is built in a round form. Above the sepulchre itself is a vaulted roof<sup>6</sup> of silver and gold, and all round it is altogether of gold. Before the sepulchre itself is the altar where holy Zacharias was slain ; his dried blood is here shown. Thence to the sanctuary<sup>7</sup> of holy Constan-

<sup>1</sup> 'Hydriæ.' Cf. *ιδρία*, a water-pot.

<sup>2</sup> 'In virtute diei.'

<sup>3</sup> Reading *advertisitur*; but possibly we should read *admiratur*, 'is an object of wonder.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Discus.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Sermones,' words, proverbs. Solomon's magic ring was a constant theme in Arabic legend ; the tradition still lingers in the name 'Solomon's seal' borne by a well-known plant.

<sup>6</sup> Reading *transvolutio*; cf. Vita S. Saturnini Mart. : 'transvolutionem desuper tumulum multo latere diligenter extruxit.'

<sup>7</sup> 'Sacrarium.'

tine's basilica, where is a chamber in which are the reed, and the sponge, and the cup which the Lord blessed and gave to His disciples to drink, saying : *This is My Body and My Blood.*

THEODOSIUS, 'DE TERRA SANCTA.'  
(Tobler, p. 63.)

II. IN the midst of the city is the basilica. From the west side you enter into [the Church of] the Holy Resurrection, where is the sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ. There is Mount Calvary, where Abraham offered up his son for a burnt offering (there men used to have their heads shaved).<sup>1</sup> The hill is rocky, and the ascent is by steps. There the Lord was crucified. At the foot of the hill itself Abraham made an altar, and above the altar the hill stands out prominently. From the sepulchre of the Lord to the place of Calvary is fifteen paces ; it is [all] under one roof.

III. And all round the hill are railings of silver. There is a building,<sup>2</sup> where the man was brought to life by whose means Christ's cross was recognised ; and a chamber<sup>3</sup> where is the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ. The cross itself is adorned with gold and with gems,<sup>4</sup> the open sky being above, and there is a latticed railing of gold round it. There, too, is that charger<sup>5</sup> in which John Baptist's head was carried before King Herod. And there is the horn with which David was anointed. And there Adam was formed out of the clay.

IV. After that you enter into the basilica, into Golgotha, where the three hidden crosses were found. (There are indeed some persons who affirm that every part [of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Illic decalvabantur homines ;' this is the explanation of the name Calvary which Theodosius proposes.

<sup>2</sup> 'Exhedra.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Cubiculum.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Et cœlum desuper, aureum et deforis habet cancellum.' 'Cœlum might mean the *ceiling* of the chamber, but from the parallel passage in the 'Breviarius' we see that the cross was exposed to the open sky.

<sup>5</sup> 'Missorium.'

cross] which touched the naked body of the Lord, and was stained with His blood, was caught up into heaven straight-way from all human touch and sight, and that it will at last appear in the [day of] judgment. And note that Jerusalem is called the ‘valley of vision’ by Isaiah<sup>1</sup> on account of the conspicuousness of its mountains, on the top of which is a little hill called Moriah, where Abraham offered up Isaac;<sup>2</sup> where the Jews say that afterwards the temple and altar were built, where also Abraham built an altar, and David saw the angel putting up his sword at the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite;<sup>3</sup> concerning which Isaiah said,<sup>4</sup> ‘The mountain [of the Lord’s house] shall be in the top of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it.’ For, indeed, every sect worships at the temple. There also Jacob saw the ladder, whence it is called Bethel.)

There, too, is an altar of gold and silver; and it has nine golden columns which sustain it. And in the midst of the basilica is the spear by which the side of the Lord Jesus Christ was pierced. And of the spear a cross is made, and it shines by night like the sun by day.

From the place of Calvary to Golgotha, where the cross of the Lord was found, is fifteen paces.

V. *Invention of the Holy Cross*.—Since it was found by Helena, the mother of Constantine, on September 14,<sup>5</sup> for seven days [at that season] masses are celebrated in Jerusalem at the holy sepulchre of the Lord, and the cross itself is displayed.

[The other form of the text of Theodosius, given by Tobler, presents, as far as the above extracts are concerned, no points of interest.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> I Chron. xxi. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. ii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> ‘xvii. Kal. Octobris’ is the reading adopted by Tobler, but it is apparently a mistake for ‘xviii.’ In the West, the festival of the *Invention* of the Cross is kept on May 3, and that of the *Exaltation* of the Cross on September 14, but the Eastern Church has only one festival—in September.

It begins chap. ii. thus : ‘ Within the city of Jerusalem, at the sepulchre of the Lord, there is Calvary, the place where Abraham offered up his son,’ etc.]

## ANTONINUS MARTYR ON THE HOLY PLACES.

XVIII. *The Tomb of the Lord.*—Falling prostrate on the earth and kissing it, we entered the Holy City, in which we directed our way to the tomb<sup>1</sup> of the Lord, adoring it. The tomb in which the body of our Lord Jesus Christ was laid is hewn out in the natural rock. The brazen lamp which at the time was placed at His head burns there day and night, from which we received a blessing and then replaced it. Into the tomb earth is cast from outside, and those who enter take away a blessing<sup>2</sup> from it. The stone by which the tomb was closed is before the mouth of the tomb ; the colour of the rock, which is hewn out of the rock of Golgotha, cannot now be discerned, because the rock itself is adorned with gold and gems. Afterwards from the rock itself was made an altar in the place where the Lord Jesus was crucified. The rock of the tomb is in truth like a millstone prodigiously adorned ; from iron rods hang armlets, bracelets, necklaces, chains, rings, head-ornaments,<sup>3</sup> waistbands, sword-belts, and emperors’ crowns of gold and gems, and very many ornaments given by empresses. The tomb, which is as it were in the shape of a cone,<sup>4</sup> is covered up with silver, and an altar is placed before the tomb beneath the golden rays of the sun.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Monumentum.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Benedictio.’ Possibly this means that the pilgrims were in the habit of carrying away earth from the Holy Sepulchre. This appears from the alternative version given by Tobler : ‘ Ingredientes pro benedictione tollunt.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘ Capitulares.’

<sup>4</sup> ‘ Meta :’ the winning-post of a racecourse was so called from its shape

<sup>5</sup> Or ‘ beneath golden suns,’ ‘ sub soles aureos.’

XIX. *Golgotha*.—From the tomb to Golgotha is eighty paces.<sup>1</sup> On one side the ascent is by steps where our Lord ascended to be crucified. In the place where He was crucified marks of blood appear in the rock itself. On the side of the rock is Abraham's altar where he was going to offer up Isaac. There also Melchisedec offered sacrifice when Abraham was returning with victory from the slaughter of Amalek;<sup>2</sup> and there, too, Abraham gave to him a tenth of the spoil for the purpose of sacrifice.<sup>3</sup> Near the altar is a fissure,<sup>4</sup> where, if you place your ear, you will hear the sound of running water; and if you throw in an apple or a pear or anything else that will swim, and go down to the Pool of Siloam, you will find it there again. Between Siloam<sup>5</sup> and Golgotha I believe is about a mile. Jerusalem has no spring water except the Pool of Siloam.

XX. *Constantine's Basilica ; the Chamber with the Cross*.—From Golgotha to the place where the cross was found is fifty paces.<sup>6</sup> In Constantine's basilica, which is adjacent to the tomb, or Golgotha, in the atrium of the basilica itself, is a chamber,<sup>7</sup> where is placed the wood of the holy cross, which we adored and kissed; for I also saw the title which was placed above the head of Jesus, and on which was written *Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews*; this I held in my hand and kissed. The wood of the cross is of nut.<sup>8</sup> While the holy cross is being brought forth from its chamber into the atrium where it is adored, at the same hour a star appears in heaven and comes over the place where the cross rests. And while the cross is being adored,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Willis has remarked that *gressus*, the word here used, is the traveller's step, varying with the individual, and not an established measure of length like *passus* (?).

<sup>2</sup> The Pilgrim has confused Amalek with Chedorlaomer. Cf. Gen. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xiv. 20.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Crepatura.’

<sup>5</sup> The alternative version has *Syna* here, but this is plainly erroneous.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Gressus.’

<sup>7</sup> ‘Cubiculum.’

<sup>8</sup> ‘De nuce.’

the star stands over it ; and oil is offered for benediction in jars which are half full,<sup>1</sup> but at the moment when the wood of the cross touches these jars, immediately the oil boils up out of them, and unless they are quickly closed it is all spilt. When the cross returns to its place, the star alike retires ; and after the cross is shut up, the star no longer appears. And there is here the sponge and the reed of which we read in the Gospel, from which sponge we drank water. There is here also the cup of onyx which the Lord blessed at the supper, and many other things of virtue: the spices of blessed Mary in an upper place, and His girdle and the bandage which she used for His head.<sup>2</sup> Here also are the seven marble seats of the elders.

#### ARCULF, CONCERNING THE HOLY PLACES.

*II. Concerning the Church of Round Form built over the Sepulchre of the Lord.*—This very large church, all of it built of stone, is wonderfully round on every side, rising from its foundations in three walls, by which one roof is elevated to a great height, having a broad space for a passage between each wall and the next ; in three ingeniously constructed places of the middle wall there are also three altars. Twelve stone columns of wonderful magnitude sustain this round and lofty church, which has the altars above mentioned, one looking to the south, another to the north, and the third towards the west. It has twice four<sup>3</sup> gates ; that is, four means of entrance through the three solid walls, the space-passages being intersected in straight lines ; of these four places of exit look towards the north-east (which is also called the ‘Cæcias’ wind), and the other four look towards the south-east.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ampullis mediis.’

<sup>2</sup> ‘Species beatæ Mariæ in superiori loco et zona ipsius et ligamentum. quo utebatur in capite.’ These relics all have reference to the circumstances of our Lord’s entombment.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Bis quaternales,’ i.e., two fourfold gates.

III. *Concerning the Figure of the Sepulchre itself, and of its Little Cabin.*—In the central space of the interior of this round building there is a round cabin,<sup>1</sup> cut out of the solid rock, in which nine men can pray, standing. Its roof is about a foot and a half above the head of a man of ordinary stature who is standing upright. The entrance to this little cabin looks towards the east ; the whole of its exterior surface is covered with choice marble, and the highest point of the roof, ornamented with gold, supports a golden cross of no small size. On the north side of this cabin is the sepulchre of the Lord, hewn out of the same rock on the inside ; but the pavement of the cabin is lower than the place of sepulture, for there is a difference in altitude of about three palms from the pavement to the lateral edge of the sepulchre. So Arculf, who often used to visit the sepulchre of the Lord, and had measured it, confidently told me.

Here should be noted the difference of the names, *tomb* and *sepulchre* ; for that round cabin which has been often mentioned is called by the Evangelists the *tomb*. To the mouth of this, they say, was the stone rolled, and from its mouth again rolled away, when the Lord rose. Properly speaking, the sepulchre is that place in the cabin, viz., on the north side of the tomb, in which the Lord's body, when buried, rested, wrapped in the linen clothes, the length of which Arculf, measuring with his own hand, found to be seven feet. Now, this sepulchre is not, as some erroneously suppose, double,<sup>2</sup> with a projection of rock hewn out of the solid wall, between and separating the legs and thighs ; but is single and simple, forming a couch capable of receiving one man lying on his back, from his head to his feet. It is like a cavern, having its opening at the side right opposite the south side of the tomb or monumental chamber. The low roof is artificially wrought above it. In this sepulchre twelve lamps, according to the number of the twelve Apostles, burn continually day and night ; of which four are placed below in the inmost part of that sepulchral

\* ‘Tugurium.’

I.e., in the shape of the human body.

couch, and the remaining eight, placed above its higher edge on the right side, shine brightly, being fed with oil. But this also seems to be noteworthy, that the mausoleum or sepulchre of the Saviour—that is, the oft-mentioned cabin—may rightly be called a cave or cavern, concerning which—that is to say, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, who was buried in it—the prophet prophesies saying, ‘He shall dwell in the lofty cavern of a very strong rock.’<sup>1</sup> And a little after to gladden the Apostles there is inserted concerning the resurrection of the Lord, ‘Ye shall see the King with glory.’<sup>2</sup>

The subjoined picture shows the form of the above-mentioned church with the round cabin in its centre, on the north side of which is the sepulchre of the Lord; there may also be seen the figures of three other churches, about which we shall speak further on.

I have depicted these figures of the four churches after the pattern which holy Arculf drew for me on the waxen tablet, as I have said above; not that the exact likeness of them can be given in a picture, but that there may be shown, in however poor a representation, the tomb of the Lord placed in the centre of the round church, and that the [position of the] church nearest to it, and also of the one placed further off, may be clearly described.

*IV. Concerning the Stone that was rolled to the Mouth of the Tomb, which the Angel of the Lord, descending from Heaven after His Resurrection, rolled back; also concerning the Cabin and the Sepulchre.*—But meanwhile it seems that we should briefly speak concerning that above-mentioned stone, which after the burial of the crucified Lord was rolled to the mouth of the Lord’s tomb, many men pushing it into its place.<sup>3</sup> This, Arculf tells us, was divided and cut

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xxxiii. 16 (Old Latin Version, preserved by Jerome).

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xxxiii. 17 (Old Latin Version). This rendering differs from the Vulgate, both here and in the preceding verse.

<sup>3</sup> Reading *trudentibus*, as certainly right, and accounting for the MSS. variations, *tradentibus* and *trucidentibus*.

into two parts ; the smaller of which, rough-hewn with tools, is seen placed as a square altar in the above-described round church, standing before the mouth of that oft-mentioned cabin, the tomb of the Lord ; but the larger part of the stone, equally chiselled into shape, stands fixed under linen cloths in the eastern side of the same church as another four-sided altar.

As for the colours of that rock in which that oft-mentioned cabin was hollowed out by the tools of masons, having the Lord's sepulchre on its north side, cut out from the very same rock in which is the tomb, *i.e.*, the cabin, Arculf, being questioned by me, said : That cabin of the Lord's tomb, not being covered with any ornamentation inside, to the present day shows traces throughout its whole cavity of the tools which the masons and stone-cutters used in their work. The colour of the rock of the tomb and the sepulchre is not uniform ; but two colours, red and white, seem to be mixed, whence the rock appears two-coloured. But let what has been said concerning these matters suffice.

V. *Concerning the Church of St. Mary, which is next the Round Church.*—But concerning the buildings of the holy places some few things must be added. Near that round church above mentioned (which is also called anastasis, or the resurrection, because it is built in the place of the Lord's resurrection), on the right side, is the quadrangular church of St. Mary, the mother of the Lord.

VI. *Concerning that Church which is built on the Side of Calvary.*—Another very large church towards the east is built in that place which in Hebrew is called Golgotha. High up in it swings by ropes a great bronze wheel<sup>1</sup> fitted with lamps, below which is set up a great silver cross, in the very spot where once stood fixed the wooden cross on which suffered the Saviour of the human race.

In the same church there is a cave cut out in the rock beneath the place of the Lord's cross, where the sacrifice is offered upon an altar for the souls of certain specially

<sup>1</sup> 'Rota,' a circular chandelier.

honoured persons, whose bodies are temporarily placed in the open space<sup>1</sup> before the door of the Church of Golgotha, until the holy mysteries on behalf of the departed are finished.

VII. *Concerning the Basilica which Constantine built near the above-mentioned Church, in that Place where the Cross of the Lord which had been buried in Ruins was found after many Centuries, when the Earth was dug up.*—Near this church, built in a quadrangular form on the site of Calvary, there is adjoining on the east side that famous stone basilica built with great magnificence by the Emperor Constantine, which is also called the memorial;<sup>2</sup> erected on that spot, as it is reported, where the Lord's cross was found by the gift of the Lord Himself, hidden under ground with the two other crosses of the thieves, after two hundred and thirty-three years had elapsed.

VIII. *Concerning the Site of Abraham's Altar.*—Between these two churches we come upon the famous place where the patriarch Abraham built an altar, placed upon it a pile of wood, and seized his drawn sword in order to sacrifice his son Isaac: where now there stands a good-sized wooden table upon which the alms for the poor are offered by the people. This also holy Arculf added, as I inquired of him more diligently, saying: Between the anastasis, i.e., the oft-mentioned round church, and Constantine's basilica, there is a small open space<sup>3</sup> extending as far as the Church of Golgotha, where lamps burn continually night and day.

IX. *Concerning the 'Exedra' situated between the Church of Calvary and Constantine's Basilica, where are kept the Cup of the Lord and the Sponge from which, as He hung on the Tree, He drank Vinegar and Wine.*—Between that basilica of Golgotha and the memorial there is a certain exedra, in which is the cup of the Lord which He blessed at the supper the day before He suffered, and gave with His own hand to the Apostles as they sat at meat with Him. It is of silver, about the size of a French

<sup>1</sup> 'Platea.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Martyrium.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Plateola.'

quart, and has two little handles fitted on it, one on each side. In this cup also is the sponge which those who were crucifying our Lord ‘put to His mouth, having filled it with vinegar and put it upon hyssop.’<sup>1</sup> From this same cup, as it is reported, the Lord drank after His resurrection as He sat at meat with His Apostles. This holy Arculf saw and touched with his own hand, and kissed through the opening of the perforated cover of the little shrine<sup>2</sup> in which it is concealed ; indeed, the whole people of the city resort constantly to this cup with great reverence.

X. *Concerning the Spear of the Soldier with which he pierced the Lord's Side.*—Arculf also saw that spear of the soldier with which the Lord's side was pierced as He hung on the cross. The spear is fixed in a wooden cross in the portico of Constantine's basilica, its shaft being broken into two parts ; this also the whole city of Jerusalem resorts to, kisses, and venerates.

<sup>1</sup> St. John xix. 29.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Scrinium.’

## INDEX.

---

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>ABRAHAM'S sacrifice, 25, 27, 28,<br/>33</p> <p>Absida, xix, 23. (<i>Vide</i> also Apse.)</p> <p>Adam, 25</p> <p>Adamnanus, vi</p> <p>Agnes, St., church of, at Rome,<br/>ix, xvi, xvii</p> <p>Aisles, xv, xvi, xvii, xxvi, 8, 19</p> <p>Altar in the basilica, xxii, xxviii,<br/>10</p> <p>Altar in St. Peter's, xii, xxviii<br/>,, at Tyre, 20</p> <p>Anastasis, the, xiii, xxiv, xxv,<br/>xxvi, 23, 29, 32</p> <p>Ancient walls, xxv</p> <p>Anne, St., church of, xxvi</p> <p>Antæ, xvii, 9</p> <p>Antioch, church at, xiii, xiv, xxi,<br/>13</p> <p>Antoninus Martyr, ix, 27</p> <p>Aphrodite, shrine of, 2</p> <p>Apostles, church of, Constantinople, 16</p> <p>Apse, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxvii, 9</p> <p>Archway (?), Constantine's, xxv</p> <p>Architects, Christian, xxviii</p> <p>Arculf, i, vi, x, xi, 29<br/>,, his plan of Holy Sepulchre,<br/>xi</p> <p>Ascension, church of the, 12</p> <p>Atrium, xxi, xxv, xxviii, 7, 10,<br/>24, 28</p> <p>Atrium at Constantinople, 17<br/>,, Tyre, 18, 19</p> <p>Authorities quoted, vii, ix, x</p> | <p>Baldachino, xix, 10</p> <p>Baptisteries, 21</p> <p>Basilica at Jerusalem, vi, xiv,<br/>xxiv, xxvi, 5, 7, 22, 23, 25, 28,<br/>33</p> <p>Basilica at Fano, xvi<br/>,, Roman, xxviii. (<i>Vide</i><br/>also SS. Peter and Paul.)</p> <p>Baths, 17</p> <p>Bernard, Professor, his transla-<br/>tions, ii, xii, xv, xviii, 1 <i>et seq.</i></p> <p>Besant, Walter, vii, xii, xv, xviii</p> <p>Bethlehem, church at, viii, xvi,<br/>xxvii, 11, 12</p> <p>Bishop's seat, xxvii, 20</p> <p>Bordeaux Pilgrim, ix, 22</p> <p>Bowls of silver, xviii, 9</p> <p>Brass cover to roof, 17</p> <p>Breviary, the, ix, xxi, xxvi, 23</p> <p>Calvary, xiv, 27, 32<br/>,, Mount, xiv, 25, 26<br/>,, ,, (?), church at,<br/>xxvi</p> <p>Canina, L., vii, xii, xv, xvi, xviii</p> <p>Capitals of columns, xx, xxi, 10<br/>silver, xx</p> <p>Cave, the divine, sacred, 3, 7.<br/>(<i>Vide</i> also Holy Sepulchre.)</p> <p>Ceiling of basilica, 6, 8<br/>,, Constantinople, 17</p> <p>Ceremonials, x</p> <p>Chambers, exedræ, etc., xiv, 14,<br/>17, 21</p> <p>Chancel, 21</p> |
|--|---|

- Chosroes, xi  
 Church of Holy Sepulchre, plan, xi. (*Vide Anastasis.*)  
 Ciampini, J., xxi  
 Cloisters, xiv, xxi, xxvi, 10, 17  
 Colonnades, 8, 9  
 Columns, the twelve great, xviii, xx, 9, 10, 24, 29  
 Columns of basilica, xv, xvi, xvii, 5, 6, 8  
 Conder, Major, ix, xxvi  
 Constance, St., church of, at Rome, xxix  
 Constantine's buildings at Rome, etc., i, xviii, xxi, xxviii, 1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17  
 Constantine's buildings at Rome, their destruction, viii  
 Constantine's buildings at Jerusalem, i, v, vi, x, xi, etc., 1, 4, 5  
 Constantine's archway, xxv  
     "    piścina, xxv  
     "    letter to Eusebius, 15  
 Constantine's letter to governors of eastern provinces, 4  
 Constantine's letter to Macarius, xix, 4  
 Constantinople, churches at, xiii, xiv, xxi, 13, 16  
 Constantinople, inscription at St. Sophia, 19  
 Court of basilica of Jerusalem, xii, xiii, xiv, xxv, 24  
 Court of church at Constantinople, 17  
 Cross, the sacred, xi, xxii, xxvi, 23, 25, 28, 33  
 Cross, the exaltation of, 26  
 Crucifixion, site of the, xiii, xiv, xxvi, xxvii, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 32  
 Cup used for the Last Supper, 33  
 Cupola, 10  
 Cyril, St., vii, xii  
  
 Doors to the basilica at Jerusalem, xvii, xviii, xxii, xxiv, 8  
 Doors at Tyre, 18  
 Double porticos, xv, 8  
 Dracilianus, 5  
 Ducange, xix
- Eastward position of entrance, xvii, xxiv, xxviii, 18  
 Eleona, xii  
 Enclosure walls, xiii, xiv, 14, 18  
 Eucherius, St., ix, xiii, xxvi, 23  
 Eusebius, his life, iv  
     "    *Ecclesiastical History*, vi  
     "    *Life of Constantine*, vi, vii, 1 *et seq.*  
 Eusebius, Greek Text, vii  
     "    on Constantine's buildings, xi, xii, xx  
 Eusebius, Panegyric on Paulinus, 17  
 Eutropia, mother of Empress Fausta, 15  
 Exaltation of the cross, 26  
 Excavation of the site, xiv  
 Exedræ, xiv, xxi, xxvi, 10, 14, 21, 25, 33  
  
 Fano, basilica at, xvi  
 Fergusson, J., ii, xvi, xxv  
 Fountains, 19  
  
 Galleries, xvi, 8  
 Gamurrini, x  
 Gates, entrance to basilica, xxiii, 10  
 Gates to anastasis, 29  
     "    basilica of Tyre, 18, 19  
 Gold ornaments to ceiling, 6, 8  
 Golgotha, xxvi, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32  
  
 Helena, St., 11, 12  
     "    chapel of, xxvi  
     "    "    staircase to, xxvi  
 Helena, St., her invention of the cross, 4, 26  
 Hemicycle, xx, xxii, xxiii, xxiv  
 Hemispherium, xviii, xix, 9  
 Holy Sepulchre. (*Vide Sepulchre.*)  
 Horn of David, 25  
  
 Idols, 2, 15  
 Illustrations, list of, iv  
 Invention of the cross, 4, 26  
     "    chapel of, xxii, xxvi  
  
 Jacob's ladder, 26  
 Jerusalem. (*Vide Constantine, Basilica, etc.*)

- John, St., the Baptist, 25  
     Lateran, ix, xxix  
 Justinian, viii, xxix
- Lamps in Holy Sepulchre, 30  
 Lattice enclosures, 19, 21  
 Lawrence, St., church of, at Rome, xvii  
 Lead covering to roof, 8  
 Lewis, T. H., plan, x, xxiv
- Macarius, Bishop, xix, 4  
 Mamre, church at, 14  
 Marbles for decoration, 5, 6, 7  
 Market-place, 10  
 Martyrs, memorials of, 13  
 Martyrium, xxii, xxiii, xxvi, xxvii, 23  
 Mary, St., church of, 32  
 Melchisedec's sacrifice, 28  
 Modestus, i, vi, xix  
 Moriah, Mount, 26  
 Mount Calvary, xiv, 25, 26  
 Mound over Holy Sepulchre, 2, 3
- Nave of Tyre basilica, 19  
 Neapolis, gate of, 22  
 New Jerusalem, 6, 7  
 Nice, Council of, vi  
 Nicomedia, Bishop of, vi  
     church at, 13  
 Nocera, baptistery at, xix
- Oil, offering of, 29  
 Olivet, church at, xxii, 11, 12  
 Ordnance survey, xi  
 Orientation, xxviii  
 Ornan's threshing-floor, 26
- Pamphilus (Eusebius), vi  
 Paul, St., basilica of, at Rome, ix, xvi  
 Paula, St., ix  
 Paulinus, 17  
 Parastatae, xvi, xvii, 9  
 Pavement, 7, 21  
 Penitents, 19  
 Peter, St., basilica of, at Rome, ix, xiii, xvi, xxix  
 Petra, Roman tomb at, xxi  
 Piers to aisles, xvii, 8  
 Pilasters, xvi, xvii, 9  
 Pilgrims, ix, x
- Pilgrim, the Bordeaux, ix, 22  
     Sylvia, St. (*Vide.*)  
 Piscina of Constantine, x, xxv, 22  
 Porticos at Jerusalem basilica, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, 7, 8  
 Porticos at Constantinople, 17  
     Tyre, 18  
 Prætorium, 22  
 Processions, x, xxvi  
 Procopius as to Constantine's buildings, viii
- Railings of silver, xxvi, 24, 25  
 Resurrection, church of the, xxvi, xxvii, 24, 25. (*Vide also Anastasis.*)  
 Rome, basilica of St. Paul, ix, xvi  
     Peter, ix, xiii, xvi, xxix  
 Roof to interior of basilica, 6, 8  
     exterior         ", 8  
     ", church at Constantinople, 17  
 Round church (*anastasis*), 29, 32
- Sanctuary of basilica, 24  
 Saviour, the, memorial, 4, 5  
 Scale of drawings, xi  
 Seats at Jerusalem, 7, 29  
     Tyre, 20  
 Section of rock, xiv  
 Sepulchre, the Holy, 1, 2, 7, 24, 25, 30  
 Sepulchre, discovery of, 3  
     plan of, xi, 35  
     ", stone at mouth of, 31  
 Siloam, pool of, 28  
 Silver capitals, xx, 10  
     railings, xxvi, 24, 25  
 Sion, 22, 23  
 Spear, the, 24, 26, 34  
 Sponge and reed and cup, 25, 29, 34  
 Staircase to St. Helena's chapel, xxvi  
 Stone at mouth of Holy Sepulchre, 31  
 Sylvia, St., x, xxii, xxv, xxvi, xxvii
- Temple of idols, 1, 2, 3  
 Theodosius, ix, 25  
 Threshing-floor of Ornan, 26  
 Thrones at Tyre, 20

Tomb ( <i>Vide</i> Holy Sepulchre), xii, xxiv, xxvi, 27, 30	Vitruvius, xvi, xxvii
Trajan's basilica, xvi, xxv	Vogüé, Melchior de, vii, xii, xv, xviii, xx, xxiii, xxv
Translations from the Greek, vii, <i>i et seq.</i>	Walls of the basilica, 5, 7
Tyre, Council of, vi	" ancient, xxv
" basilica of, vi, ix, xiii, xiv, xxviii, 17	Warren, Colonel Sir C., ix
Urns of silver, xxi, 24	Wilkins, W., xvii
Valesius, vii, xii, xv, xviii, xix	Willis, Professor, vii, xii, xv, xviii, xx, xxiv, xxvii
Vases, silver, xxi	Wilson, Colonel Sir C. W., i, x, xi
Vesta, temple of, xxviii	Windows in basilica of Tyre, 19
	Zacharias, where slain, 24

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